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The Yaruros of the Capanaparo River, Venezuela

By VINCENZO PETRULLO

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PREFACE

122 The material for this report was gathered by the second Venezuelan Expedition of the University Museum, of the University of Pennsylvania, 1933–34. The field trip to the Yaruros lasted three months. Mr. Arthur P. Rossi and Señor Carlos Defendini of Caracas participated in the work of the expedition for short periods of time. My thanks go to both.

610 It is impossible to list all of those friends who helped the expedition in its work, for to do everyone justice I should have to include many whose names I never learned or whom I knew only by their first names. The Caraqueños were most kind and generous but the Llaneros no less; and later when I came in contact with the Andinos I found them no different. I thank, therefore, the whole Venezuelan people for their wholehearted hospitality and the facilities which their Government put at the expedition's disposal.

I am especially indebted to Dr. Alfredo Jahn, who not only put his library at my disposal but gave me an insight into Venezuelan anthropology. He compiled the bibliography on the Yaruro language. My thanks go also to Dr. Gumersindo Torres for many introductions and much friendship; to Mr. Rudolph Dolge, whose vast library was always at my disposal; to Señor Don Manoel Sanchez for hospitality at his ranch and permission to excavate an archeological site on his property; to the Phelps family.

The expedition is further indebted to the United Fruit Co. for transportation to Baranquilla; to the Venezuelan Oil Co. for information about the llanos.

The Department of State and the Pan American Union introduced the expedition to the Venezuelan Government and scientific bodies. I am especially indebted to the Honorable Sumner Welles, Undersecretary of State; to the Honorable George T. Summerlin, at that time American Minister to Venezuela; to the late Mr. George Orr, Consul General to Caracas, who took more than an official interest in the work of the expedition; to Dr. L. S. Rowe, Director of the Pan American Union; and to Dr. E. Gil Borges, formerly Assistant Director of the Pan American Union. I thank also the Academia de Ciencias Matematicas, Fisicas y Naturales, whose members, in addition to generously putting their information at my disposal, honored me with membership in the academy.

Miss Tatiana Proskouriokoff is responsible for the drawings of the shaman's gourd rattles; my brother, John S. Petrullo, organized the field notes during my illness; without the generous assistance of Miss Paula M. Jenkins and Mrs. Elisabeth Ives Jordan the manuscript would not have been made ready in time for the printers; Jane B. La Coste read the proofs.

THE YARUROS OF THE CAPANAPARO RIVER, VENEZUELA

By Vincenzo Petrullo

Introduction

121 The American primitive aborigines are rapidly becoming extinct. Some groups are dying out, and others are being assimilated in the lowest laboring classes of the various nations. In any case, the American aborigines, as first found by the sixteenth century explorers, are rarely met today. Only in a few spots, difficult of access or geographically undesirable to the Euro-American, can one find a few primitive peoples still eking out an existence as did their ancestors of four centuries ago. Some of these groups have had intermittent contact with European culture; others do not even know of it at first hand. It is these tribes which can furnish the key to many problems of American anthropology and to some extent to world anthropology, but there is need for haste in studying them, for they may not survive this generation.

511 A simple hunting and fishing culture is the most primitive economic existence. When such a culture has not been able to lift itself above the wood, shell, and bone stage, it should be ranked among the primary. The presence of the bow and pottery may lift a culture slightly above the Australian, but not very much so. The Yaruro culture described in the following pages can be classified as being on that level. Certainly it is as primitive as the Fuegian. The Yaruros, like most tribes of the South American tropical lowlands, have been handicapped by lack of stone in the country. Wood, shell, and bone were [177] substituted until they came in contact with iron. Today they obtain scraps of iron, which they have learned to fashion into arrow points, from the cattle ranchers, but they would have done just as well without this new material.

[illegible]11 361 A people like the Yaruros are forced to economize in every aspect of their material culture. Literally they may have only that which they are able to transport with them. All the worldly possessions of each family must be crowded into one small dugout canoe. The

511 superfluous needs to be dispensed with every time camp is moved, which occurs every few days. Only in thoughts and feelings can
361 they be as rich as any other people; but this requires a particular kind of temperament possessed by only a few individuals in the tribe.

182 Their economic life, social organization, mythology, and religion form a well-knit pattern of existence. There are no loose ends, but a knot here and there appears in the form of vagueness or contradiction. But I think that the fault lies with us who would introduce our type of organization into their knowledge. We expect more from a primitive group than we ourselves could offer. Besides, it is doubtful whether we ever present the picture of their culture as they see it; if we did we might not understand or we might even be surprised at its orderliness.

177 Although the Yaruros have been in touch with Euro-American culture for several centuries they have borrowed remarkably little. What
121 culture they possessed several centuries ago we do not know. There is practically no information about them in the literature. There is justification, therefore, in publishing this record, in spite of many apparent deficiencies. Since plans for another visit to fill in the gaps in my field notes have not materialized and the Yaruros may be gone before another ethnologist can live with them it seems advisable to make this material available.

121 Anthropology, among other things, is concerned with the interrelationships of groups of men and with the functions of social structures as developed by man and his environment. I have tried to keep in mind that in presenting a first account of an unknown people it may not be at all out of place to draw a general but intimate picture of the daily life of the Yaruros, their emotional, cognitive and conative responses to the world about them, and even their attitude toward the ethnologist who appeared among them with only the objective of
123 holding friendly conversations about themselves. At first they were suspicious, but they soon caught the point and enjoyed the experience as much as I did. An attempt has been made to give these pictures, and to explain the series of events which made possible with these nomads the intimate association that followed the first few days of unfriendliness.

124 No attempt has been made to reconcile differences in the information
128 obtained from various informants, not even if there is a contradiction. It was the first time that the Yaruros had been asked to organize their knowledge of their own culture; contradictions and vagueness were to be expected. My informants were exclusively men, even for those
123 phases of culture which admittedly belong to the female world. A cultural obstacle which I respected prevented any direct social intercourse with the women. The women's domain is respected by the

123 men. A female ethnologist might get an interesting, and perhaps different, picture of Yaruro culture. I do know that there were many things, especially in the field of shamanism, from which I was shut off. The Yaruros saw this and the women relayed a pressing request that on my next visit to them I bring my "wife" (I have none!), with whom they could lie on the sands at night and tell things about their world similar to what their men told me.

My visit took place in the months of February, March, and April of 1934. Several species of intestinal parasites acquired in Brazil not only precluded my roaming about the countryside, but forced the Yaruros to attend me day and night for many weeks, giving ample opportunity—once it lasted for thirty-four consecutive hours—to talk. A sedentary life is so foreign to a nomadic people that this chance to corner them for "talk" was too good to miss. In fact, after a while it was becoming too much for them, and besides, hunting in the area became impractical. Everything considered, we reached a saturation point and I started on my way back. Many of these friends may be dead by now.

THE YARUROS AND THEIR COUNTRY

YARURO DAILY LIFE

101 131 181 Peaceful and mystical, the Yaruros, or Pumeh as they call themselves, wander up and down the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers (fig. 15) gathering their daily dinner and thinking about the life awaiting them in the Land of Kuma when they leave this world.

361 133 As dawn breaks over the hills of Guiana we may discover a Yaruro camp on one of the sandy beaches of the Capanaparo River about a day's journey by canoe from where it flows into the Orinoco. It appears as a dark blotch on the wind-packed white sands at a distance of some 50 yards from the water's edge and more than that from the wall of vegetation which marks the bank of the river during the rainy season and hides the open savanna country beyond. The camp gives no sign of life until the sun shows clearly in the sky. Then we see that it consists of some leafy branches and 3-foot sticks bare of bark thrust in the sands, casting long shadows in the early morning to where the vultures are fighting among themselves at the refuse heap located to the west of the camp; or the white vulture, the "king," may be seen feasting alone while his black brethren await disconsolately on the side.

361 As the light becomes stronger we make out under the branches piles of debris, recumbent human forms, and mangy dogs tied to the sticks. The debris consists of baskets and pots, with here and there small

361 cheesecloth contraptions no more than 2 feet high under which human beings are sleeping half buried in the sand.

364 136 Approaching the river, we see canoes pulled up on the sands and discover that there is more debris close by, but its owners are not in sight. In the water close to the canoes are turtles with their hind legs tied to the front ones. Some of these are also fastened to the canoes, by means of strings which pass through holes drilled in their carapaces. They make fruitless efforts to move away whenever anyone comes near to them.

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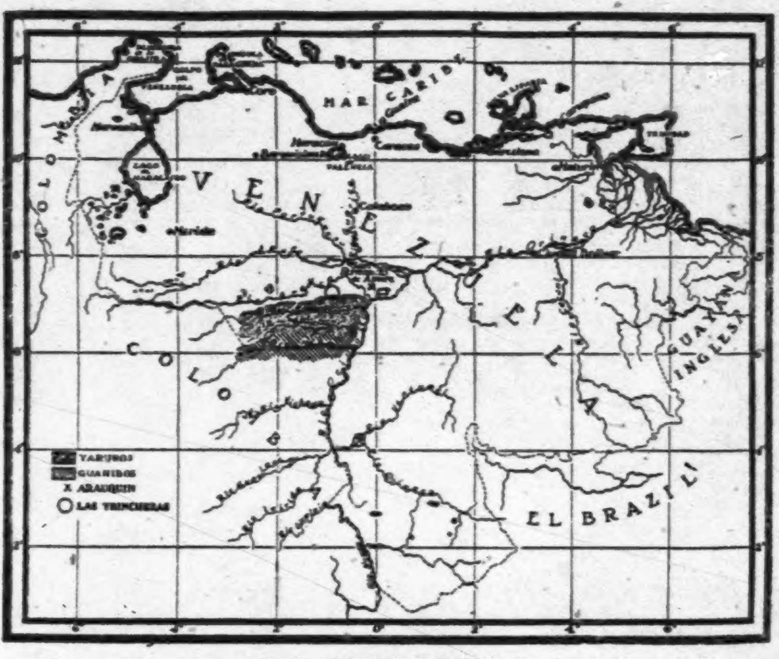

FIGURE 15.—Map of Venezuela.

361 -133 It is not a large camp, and the sleepers do not number many. As we look around us they appear to be insignificant and lost in immense space, so distant and even is the horizon. Only to the east do we see a wall of shadow rising a little above the horizon. It is all that can be seen of the hills of Guiana across the Orinoco not far away. In the early morning light they look like mountains, though they are only a few hundred feet high.

512 The awakening of a Yaruro camp is quiet, almost surreptitious. As the grayness of the landscape gives place to bright orange-gold, some of the sleepers are up, squatting with their legs doubled under them. They face the west; they do not move, merely sit still watching

572 the horizon. There is no chanting as in the villages of the Xingu, no whistling, no marching to the river for an early bath. There is no conversation, no motion. After a while a dog may sit up and watch the world as silently as his master. More and more of the recumbent figures sit up; some old man becomes busily engaged in making string; a woman gives suck to a baby; others rise, and, walking with heads
[372] high, chests thrust forward, go toward the bushes, to reappear soon with armfuls of wood and quickly start fires with their laurelwood fire drills. Soon everyone is sitting up, and the cheesecloth tents disappear. A few women huddle around the fires.

It is only when the wind resumes its violent blowing that the camp is stirred into activity. The chilliness of the night is forgotten, reverential thoughts are discarded. The vulgar stomach, however, is
512 remembered. Preparations are made to take care of its daily needs.
225 Bows and arrows are examined. A harpoon arrow for turtles and
462 crocodiles, a fish arrow, a gourd, and if the hunter possesses one, a knife, comprise the equipment. Then the men go to their canoes two by two, though a young boy may be taken along to make three. He too must learn to satisfy the daily craving of his inner machinery. The hunters paddle away upstream and disappear around the bend of the river.

512 The women prepare for their own voyages. Sometimes they accompany
222 the men, sometimes they go alone in a canoe or go inland. They carry baskets on their backs suspended from the forehead by a
462 strap. Each woman carries a digging stick. Little girls accompany them, with their little baskets and their own digging sticks, in imitation of the grown-ups. Some women carry babies astride the hip,
291 feeding at the large full breasts. Naked but for a loin covering, with hair falling down their backs, they seem to fit the wild landscape. Some may wear a camisole, but that is only a thin veil, and their bodies are seen underneath. The loin covering is tied at the back, and, as they walk with chests thrown forward and high, resembles a huge tail rolled under the camisole. Their smooth-skinned ape appearance is graceful but amusing; the naked ones fit the picture better.

512 At camp are left only the old people and some young ones who
461 are too lazy to go out or have been hunting hard and need a rest. They are soon busy fixing bows and arrows, making string, carving ornaments, weaving basketry, taking care of very young children. There is very little talking and no fussing. They almost ignore each other. Those who stay at home will wait patiently for their dinner. They will watch the sun climb the heavens, and they will move from one side of the branches to the other to keep in the shade. Beaten by the wind which by noon blows a gale, bombarded by

512 grains of sand, they wait patiently and quietly, though hungry.
461 They seek no shelter from the wind, preferring it to the myriads of insects lurking in any sheltered spot. And then, too, it is cool in the wind, terrifically hot away from it.

About midafternoon the hunters and food gatherers straggle in.
512 They bring small crocodiles and turtles, crocodile eggs, turtle eggs,
224 perhaps some honey; and the women return with full baskets containing
222 changuango, a wild root that they have dug up in the savanna. They, too, may bring turtle eggs. Not always, of course. The men and the women may return with empty hands and empty baskets. In any event there is no boisterous reception, but the same silence, the same quiet acceptance of the day and what it brings as they have shown at its beginning. Fires are built larger, the women roast the
512 roots, the men help with the turtles and the crocodiles. These are
252 placed whole on the fire until the shells are toasted and then they
515 are cracked open. Wives become busy delousing their husbands, using a carved stick to help in the search. Sometimes the lice are picked and eaten. But the bodies of the men are covered with numerous black blisters, showing that they have suffered the daily torment from the insects. The wife crushes all of these blisters with the same delousing tool.

512 Dinner is a gala time. Calabash dishes containing the various courses are placed in the center of the ring formed by each family.
264 The food is picked up and carried to the mouth with the fingers.
262 There are crocodile eggs. These are opened and the contents are sucked up raw. The same is done with the turtle eggs. There is the course of roasted changuango, and the pieces of turtle meat. But the real delicacy is crocodile, the best meat of all. The crocodile is eaten in its entirety, except for the entrails, and when the dinner is over some of it is left by the fire, an open invitation to anyone to fill any empty portion of his stomach. The stomachs become distended as tremendous quantities of food are swallowed. This is the only real meal of the day, and the fear of a dinnerless tomorrow drives the eaters to exceptional feats of gourmandizing until their bodies can hold no more. The lean dogs fight among themselves over the refuse heaps. The vultures glide overhead or are busy at crocodile entrails.

512 There is no after dinner work—no kitchen or table ware to wash, nothing to spoil the proper enjoyment of a full stomach. They eat
517 until they have had enough, and then they move to the east of the
776 fires to lie on the clean sands and watch the sun hide beneath the western horizon. For about half an hour they watch the ever-changing colorful western sky and when rays of light emanate from below the horizon to streak the heavens with blue and gold and white, they

512 rejoice, for they know that Kuma, the goddess creator of all things,
517 is content with them and is sending them a greeting in token thereof.
776 On the wings of the wind comes the roar of the araguatos.

But life starts in the east and ends in the west. The day is done and the night comes on. The Yaruros turn to face the east to watch
821 the beginning of star travel and also the fiery appearance of the
776 moon and its transformation to a chaste white. The sands glisten and above flash "falling stars", but the Yaruros say that these are messengers of Kuma doing their errands.

512 Then the women roll cigars, light them, and pass them to their men.
276 Everyone smokes and there is great contentment. There is reluctance
462 to stand up, so if a woman has to fetch some object, say a firebrand,
[516] she will crawl on all fours, looking not unlike some large but indescribably graceful ape.

When several stars of the big dipper have appeared the women
512 rise in a body and walk into the darkness west of the camp. They
462 disappear from sight and hearing. What mysteries they perform they only know. The men are left alone and they talk about heaven. The children play merrily.

The women return and quietly take their places, ready to prepare more cigars. It is good to lie naked on the sand looking at the sky,
000 listening to nature's symphony. With the same persistent effortless rhythm of the pulse beat the world outside of the individual is felt. There is the merry laughter of the children and the soft, deep, contented gurgle of the women; the soft voice of the shaman painting religious pictures, explaining existence; the murmur of the wind as a background to the calls of night birds, and the blowing of toninos, the splash of frolicsome fishes, the intermittent howl of the monkeys, the bark of the wolf, the roar of the jaguar; and the warmth of a full stomach.

512 A figure may detach itself from the camp shadows and disappear
796 in the darkness of the west. Several young men may afterwards take the same path—to join the shaman in his preparations for communion with the gods. They leave behind them a feeling of expectation but nothing is said. Someone has put up a bare pole where the sand is hard packed.

796 The shaman returns and goes to sit in front of the pole facing the east. He sits quietly and alone in deep reverie. Later he may ask
791 for a cigar. His wife will supply him with one.

After a period of contemplation he may begin to sing and dance. His people will join him. The music will become more and more animated, the singing and dancing will be done with increasing abandon. The stars and the moon will go their ways to rest in the west.
512 It is only when the sun peeps over the eastern horizon that they will

512 stop to talk, rest, and later sleep. Twenty-four hours of Yaruro life have gone by. The stomach must be considered again.

THE LLANOS

131 The country of the Yaruros is a low plain lying south and east of
the Venezuelan Andean mountain spur between the fifth and sixth
[133] degree of North Parallel. On the east it is flanked by the Orinoco,
with the hills of Guiana beyond the river, and on the south the plain
132 rolls away to Colombia. This vast inland plain is burned by a tropical sun the year round and nowhere is there a degree of elevation to relieve one from the intense heat. Fortunately there is no barrier to the trade winds which often blow too hard for human comfort but which, nevertheless, make life bearable by cooling the body and blowing away insect life. During the dry season this plain is a veritable desert with scant vegetation except along the river banks and by water holes. In the rainy season it becomes a vast inland sea rich in animal and plant life. The temperatures during the day are always high. In the plains of Apure 130° F. have been recorded a few feet from the ground. In the middle of the day animal life is practically at a standstill. Cattle and horses which roam the plains half wild or completely so rest quietly. The cowboy withdraws to the shelter of a grass roof; the traveler retires to the shade of a bush, provided
[512] he can find one; but the Yaruro seeks the river banks where the winds are freshest and there is always the branch thrust in the sand to give him some shade. In midafternoon the winds abate somewhat, but rise again as the sun sets. There is another lull just before midnight, but in the early morning the wind blows a gale, driving the well-equipped traveler under his blankets and the Yaruros to the warmth of sand pits. Shelter from the wind means intolerable insect life. One must remain exposed to the ever-blowing wind to find any comfort.

It is said that a geologist prospecting unsuccessfully for oil ended his report with the statement, "The plains of Venezuela, or as they are known, the llanos, are rich—in water." He would have been more accurate had he said that the llanos are rich in winds, in dust and sand, insects, and, in the rainy season, flora and fauna.

133 The llanos would form a desert were it not for the rivers which,
fed by the Andes, flow into the Orinoco. The largest of these are
the Apure and the Meta. Between them flow the Capanaparo and
136 the Sinaruco. Fishes are plentiful in these rivers. Along the banks are found an abundance of birds, among which ducks, cranes, and storks predominate. Smaller birds give color and song to the country. Near the Orinoco species of sandpipers crowd the sand bars. Hawks and vultures are a common sight.

136 Bats are plentiful, but they tend to be most abundant in the forests and hills close to the Orinoco. Armies of them fly nightly out of the caves of Guiana to feed on the fruit of the forests in the plains. One evening while crossing back from Guiana to the llanos we saw a stream of bats flying across the river. They seemed to come from a cave about 2 miles away. Though we watched them flying overhead for about half an hour, there did not seem to be any end to them.

174 Formerly the llanos were peopled by a number of tribes who have since disappeared, leaving behind them practically no knowledge of their societies. Only the Yaruros and the Guabibos inhabiting the Meta region have survived to this day. The Tamanachi, the Guamos, the Otomacos, which are best but meagerly known, have died or been killed off in recent years. I saw the last Otomaco survivors, an old woman and a boy of five, who had been saved from a reputed massacre. The Achaguas seem to have disappeared in recent years also.
177 What has happened to these people can be easily understood when it is considered that during the past 25 years the worldwide unrest has driven adventurers to many corners of the earth, and these people have been exposed to the marauding "revolutionary" bands and to the equally destructive cupidity of the crocodile hunter and the rancher.

161 There are 150 Yaruros left in the region of the Capanaparo and
161 on an island at the mouth of that river called the Linda Bara. It is claimed that on the Sinaruco there are other bands but no contact was made with them. Formerly the Yaruros occupied a large territory and perhaps roamed the plains, as well as the rivers, but since the land has been taken up by the ranchers they have been forced to the river banks.

136 The animals of greatest interest to the Yaruros are: jaguar, puma, wild pigs, capibara (the chiguire), armadillo, snakes, jivaro stork, vultures, manatee, tonino, crocodiles, iguana.

137 Plant life has great importance as a source of food, usable wood,
222 medicines, and narcotics. The moriche and macanilla palms supply the Yaruros with fibers and bow wood. The chigua supplies him with flour; the changuango and barbaco with edible roots.

101 The Yaruros call themselves "Pumeh." In the literature they are referred to as "Saururi" (Gumilla), "Zavuri" (Gilii), and more recently as Jaruros, Sayuros, etc. According to my informants Yaruro or Jaruro, is a Guahibo word by which they are known to that people. The Guahibos are known to the Yaruros as "Tciricoa," "people of the forest." The word Pumeh has no exact translatable meaning. The closest equivalent is the Spanish "gente." When a Yaruro uses it he implies "the people," "the chosen people." Only the Yaruros are Pumeh, but the term occasionally includes other tribes. All non-

101 aboriginal peoples are called by the Spanish word "Racionales" which
186 is the equivalent of "civilizado," civilized. It was only after they
came to the conclusion that I was a Pumeh also, and quite different
from the Racionales, that they accepted me and made this study
possible.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

142 The Yaruros are small and dark with a strong mongoloid ap-
pearance. The faces are heavy, broad, with the eyes very often show-
[141] ing the mongoloid fold. The average stature of the men is about
5 feet 3 inches and of the women about 4 feet 10 inches. One gets
the impression that the heads are larger than the ordinary in com-
parison with the body size. The frame is light, both men and women
possessing small, beautifully shaped hands and feet. The body is
relatively hairless, as is usual among pure Indian peoples. They have
strong teeth and seem to keep them until a very old age.

177 The Yaruros have had some contact with Europeans or mixtures
175 of Spanish, Negro, and Indians for several centuries. Herrara
reached the Meta River in 1535, and subsequently missions were estab-
lished along the Orinoco and its tributaries. About 1750 a mission
was established at La Urbana for the Otomacos, and one was later
established at Barinas. Apparently at that time these people inhab-
797 ited the region between the Capanaparo and the Apure. No missions
were established for the Yaruros, and, according to Gilii, the Yaruros
came to the Otomaco missions to be baptized. Father Gumilla wrote:

> Here, between the Sinaruco and Meta rivers were established the colonies of Santa Barbara and of San Juan Francisco Regis at the end of 1739, having pacified the Saruro (Yaruro) nation; of which nation Father Manuel Roman, the Superior of those missions, in a letter of February 20, 1740, gives me excellent news of their good will and docility and, which is receiving our teachings anxiously; with the hope that with the good example of these first two other Reductions will be established. He adds that in the colony of San Francisco de Borja of the same nation Sarura, of which Father Francisco de Olmo is in charge, who has reduced their language to writing and a dictionary, Christianity is flourishing; and that already schools for writing, reading, and singing are attended by children (a short while ago they were wild); and that they sing the mass, litanies, etc., in a fair way. So much does careful and diligent effort accomplish in those wild regions! Father Rogue Lubian takes care of the Santa Teresa village with the same efficiency; Father Jose Maria Cervillini is in charge of San Ignacio; he, with Brother Agustin de la Vega, attend as best they can the rest of the new villages, and they are clamoring for workers with the firm hope that you will send them as soon as possible.

144 Since there has been contact with the white man and some Negroes
for several centuries, one would expect a certain amount of race mix-
ture. However, I never saw a sign of the slightest trace of Negro
142 blood. The hair which, more than any other characteristic, seems to
indicate Negro contact, in the case of the Yaruro is coarse and straight,

and if not jet black, chestnut in color. The following table gives the measurements of practically every adult Yaruro met with:

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Measurements

Sex	Approximate age	Height	Sitting height	Head length	Head breadth	Cephalic index	Zygomatic breadth	Symbols refer to hair samples (unstudied)
EL BURON								
		Cm	*Cm*	*Cm*	*Cm*		*Cm*	
F.	30	144.5	75	17.3	15.2	87.9	12.2	F1a.
F.	35	152.5	79.5	18.5	14.6	78.9	12.1	F2a.
F.	25	146	75	18.7	14	74.9	12.5	F3a.
F.	18	149	77	17.2	15.2	88.4	12.2	F4a.
F.	40	151.5	83.5	17.7	14	79.1	12.2	F5a.
Average	29.6	148.9	78.0	17.9	14.6	81.8	12.2	
M.	30	164.5	85	17.8	15	84.3	13	M1a.
M.	30	158.6	80.3	17.7	15.3	86.4	13.8	M2a.
M.	30	158.8	81	18.7	14.7	78.6	13.9	M3a.
M.	30	160.5	81	19.3	15	77.7	13.8	M4a.
Average	30	160.6	81.8	18.4	15.0	81.8	13.6	
LAGUNOTE								
F.		153	75.8	18	14	77.8	12.7	F1b.
F.		146.8	75.4	16.3	13.6	83.4	12.6	F2b.
F.		142	71	17.5	14.5	82.9	13.1	F3b.
F.		147	72.7	17.7	14	79.1	12	F4b.
F.		139.3	74.4	17.4	13.8	79.3	11.6	F5b.
F.		157	79.4	18.4	14.2	77.2	13	F6b.
F.		150.3	81.4	17.6	14	79.5	12.5	F7b.
F.		150.5	78.2	17.8	14.5	81.5	13.7	F8b.
F.		144.3	78.4	18.6	14.4	77.4	12.7	F9b.
Average		147.8	76.3	17.7	14.1	79.8	12.7	
M.		162.4	84.2	18.5	14.4	77.8	13.9	M1b.
M.		156.5	79.6	18.4	14.4	78.3	12.7	M2b.
M.		163.9	83.1	16.2	14.7	90.7	14.5	M3b.
M.		166.2	81.5	18.7	15	80.2	13.4	M4b.
M.		158.4	79.3	18.8	14.3	76.1	12.8	M5b.
M.		154.5	76	18.7	15.1	80.7	13.7	M6b.
M.		152	73.6	18	14.2	78.9	13.2	M7b.
Average		159.3	79.6	18.3	14.6	80.4	13.5	
MERCEDES								
F.		152.6	81	18.4	13.4	72.8	12.4	F1c.
F.		146.5	77.4	18	14.9	82.8	13	F2c.
F.		156	81.5	19.3	15.4	79.8	12.7	F3c.
F.		144.5	74.8	19	14.1	74.2	12.7	F4c.
F.		153.5	77	18.2	14.3	78.6	13.2	F5c.
F.		147.9	73.5	17.7	13.7	77.4	13	F6c.
F.		138.6	70.2	17.6	12.8	72.4	11.9	F7c.
Average		148.4	76.5	18.3	14.2	77.7	12.9	
M.		167.4	84.1	19.9	15.7	78.9	14.7	M1c.
M.		168.4	87.7	19.9	17.3	86.9	15	M2c.
M.		165.2	83.2	18.5	16	86.5	15.3	M3c.
M.		154.4	87.7	18.5	15.2	82.2	14.1	M4c.
M.		158.4	81.5	17.8	15.6	87.6	14.5	M5c.
M.		160.2	83.1	18.4	15.4	83.7	14.5	M6c.
M.		154.8	81.4	18.7	15.2	81.3	15.2	M7c.
M.		158.5	77.6	18.7	14.4	77.0	13.6	M8c.
Average		160.2	83.2	18.8	15.6	83.0	14.6	

N. B.—Hair samples of children.

142 Among the llaneros the Yaruros have the reputation of being darker in color than any of the other tribes. This may be due to their daily exposure to the sun, for I have noticed that forest peoples tend to be lighter in color than those living in the open country. This observation was also made by the early Spanish missionaries. Gilii wrote:

> The color of the peoples of the Orinoco commonly is dark, but somewhat reddish. It is true that some tribes, for example the Otomachi' and the Guami', incline toward black. But they are of such a color, nevertheless, that there is no one among them who can be said to be similar to the Negroes, whose color they abhor. Generally the tribes close to the Orinoco like the Zaruvi (Jaruvos), and the Quaquari' are brown; even more whitish are the inhabitants of the interior, and of the forests. Whitish are the Maipuri, some Tamanachi, and above all the Macchiritari, and the Oji.[1]

[146] The most striking thing in the appearance of the Yaruros is the skin condition referred to by the Racionales as "pintado," painted. When a Yaruro is first afflicted, some patch of his skin will become dry and almost sooty black in color. This will gradually lose all pigment and become as light as the skin of a white man. Practically every individual of the band I met at El Buron showed this patchy skin. The appearance is analogous to that of being profusely covered with freckles. This condition does not affect the health of the individual in any way. By the Racionales it is attributed to the habit of eating crocodile meat and crocodile eggs. The Yaruros give no explanation for it.

304 [752] They practice no mutilations except that the women drill small holes through the lower lip through which they thrust bone pins. One woman wore 13 such pins. She often used them to prick blisters raised by insect bites.

516 The Yaruros seemed to be ambidextrous. In a group of approximately 150, I counted 6 cases of definite left-handedness, but generally, the left hand is used with a certain amount of dexterity. In addition to using the hands, the toes are used to pick up objects; for instance, if the man wishes to pick up his bow from the ground he will not stoop, but will pick it up with his toes and raise it to the level of his hands.

The posture of the Yaruros is an excellent adaptation to the soft sands on which they are forced to walk whenever they are out of their canoes. Their shoulders are thrown far back with the chest

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[1] Gilii, vol. 2, book 1, p. 34: Il colore degli Orinochesi, comunemente e fosco, ma inclinante alquanto all' rossicio. Vero e, che alcune nazioni, a cagion di esempio, gli Ottomachi, ed i Guani, tirano piutosto al nero. Ma sono di color tale nondimeno, che niuono tra essi vi e, che possa dirsi simile a Negri, il cual colore aboorriscono moltissimo. Generalmente le nazioni vicine all 'Orinoco, siccome le suddette, i Zaurui, e i Quaquari, sono piu brune; piu bianchi gli abitanti delle macchie interne, e de'monti. Bianchicci sono dunque i Mapoi, i Maipuri, alcuni Tamanachi, e sopra tutti i Macchiritari, e gli Oji.

516 high and the hips carried well forward. As they walk along the soft sands they do not lean forward as a white man would to push against the yielding sands. The torso is held erect on the pelvis and the weight is shifted from hip to hip with the legs making a gliding motion beneath. In this way the walk is really a shifting of weight from one foot to another, the foot being planted almost flat on the ground. I noticed that on a hard trail the ball of the foot strikes the ground before the heel. They make a graceful picture as they walk about.

When sitting they double their legs under them, a position difficult to assume unless one has practiced it from childhood. The favorite sleeping posture is on the side with the knees drawn up close to the mouth. When sitting on the sands, if forced to pick up an object lying some distance away, the women especially would walk on all fours to it and bring it back without rising to a standing posture. In this manner I have seen women pick up firewood lying 50 yards away from the fire.

482 854 Loads are carried by men and women in nets suspended by a band from the forehead. Young children, who generally accompany their mothers on their food-gathering expeditions, are carried astride the hip, feeding at the breast as the mother goes about her work.

147 The physical endurance of the Yaruros is rather low. A day of hard paddling at a speed greater than their ordinary style, and they are exhausted. It is difficult to say whether this is due to their poor diet or simply to low racial vitality. It is certain that the American primitive is not as acclimated to the tropics as the Negro who, living on the same food as the Indian, will nevertheless outwork the latter.

177 The Yaruros today have been pushed to the Capanaparo and the Sinaruco Rivers. Rarely do they dare to wander far away from the banks of these two rivers. Since the days of the missions the indigenous tribes have been the victims of exploitation, even to the extent of enslavement. They are free booty for anyone who can catch them. The ranchers have sought to enslave the Yaruros, but an even more general sport has been the taking of the Yaruro women. Bandits and revolutionary groups sweeping along the llanos have not eased the Yaruro problem. Crocodile hunters, upon meeting with a band of Yaruros, will demand their women, and if the Yaruros should be reluctant to turn them over, death may be the price. I was told both by the Racionales, that is the peons, and the Yaruros, that about one month before I arrived in their midst about 150 Yaruros had been 185 rounded up and killed by the local "Jefes Civiles." The Yaruros are a hunted people, and they know that their extermination is imminent.

174 181 There is little to be found in the literature on the Yaruros. Among the missionaries they had the reputation of being too wild to tame. They were accused of being parricides and were called eaters of clay. The Tamanachi and the Otomacos seemed to have had a more complex economic culture and received much more attention from the missionaries; but the Yaruros, due to their own shyness, were considered to be scarcely human, and little was done with them. 152 -177 They seemed to be especially sensitive to any scolding or maltreatment. Gumilla, writing in 1791, says "Their fear, completely beyond reason, is the root of their inconstancy and is the dismay of all the writers: more delicate than glass; if they feel that the missionary has looked at them fixedly, if they hear a word less gentle, it is sure that they will run away and, moreover, will take with them the entire family." This statement may be an indication of the early treatment received by the Yaruros at the hands of the soldiers and missionaries. It is a fear which has persisted down through the centuries and is no less intense today.

197 Linguistically the Yaruros do not seem to be connected with any other South American group. On the basis of a few limited vocabularies several attempts have been made to link the Yaruros to the Saliva or the Betoya. An examination of the text produced in this study will show no obvious affinity to other language families. However, this is a matter for future study.[1]

ARCHEOLOGY

172 The llanos of Apure have become legendary for many things, even archeologically. In the entire region no excavations have been conducted, but stories are current of the variety of archeological remains. The Calzada is probably the most famous of them all. According to verbal descriptions obtained from geologists and other visitors to the llanos, the Calzada has the appearance of an elevated roadbed running eastward for many miles from some point at the foot of the Andes. In it and in small mounds close by it has been reported that pottery and skeletal material have been found. There is no doubt that archeological remains are primitive. As we traveled about the country we found that most of the squatters had archeological pieces of varying degrees of interest. At La Trinchera there were even two amateur archeologists. One thing is certain, the archeological material which was uncovered, and which is being reported in another paper, has no relation to any of the Yaruro material. It is therefore certain that the Yaruros have not always occupied the region.

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[1] See Bibliography.

174 It is well to note that the llanos form a sort of cul-de-sac from which there is only one escape, and that is by way of the Orinoco River. It is quite likely that the llanos have been the camping grounds and the highway for a number of tribes migrating northward, southward, or eastward. For peoples practicing agriculture, Guiana and the lower Orinoco region would be more suitable than the plains of Apure, where, on account of the strong winds and the sandy soil, it is difficult to carry on any cultivation of the soil. The mountainous regions to the north and west are also fit for agriculture. Therefore it was only the culturally poorer tribes that would remain in the llanos.

101 We have, therefore, in the following pages, a people who are primitive hunters, whose history is unknown, who do not seem to be linguistically related to any other group, and whose appearance is strongly mongoloid—who have been in contact not only with foreign indigenous culture but with some European culture, and who are facing 121 physical and cultural extinction. Perhaps this last fact should be allowed to dominate this study, because it can throw into relief much of Yaruro culture and will remind us that anthropology is not so much signs of things as the signs of man, and that his problems and the way he solves them is as important, if not more important, than purely historical problems and theories. The opportunity of studying religion, social organization, and general spiritual culture of a South American tribe was so strong that during my stay with the Yaruros I concentrated with these phases of their culture rather than on the material phases or linguistic problems.

MY JOURNEY TO AND LIFE WITH THE YARUROS

122 177 Contact with the Yaruros is not easy. No one ever knows near what water hole or at what point on the river these nomads may be found. Several centuries of maltreatment have made them shy and suspicious of strangers and particularly of all "Racionales." Primitive and loosely organized, they could not and cannot today offer any effective resistance to civilized groups which may want to exploit them. At the time of my visit everyone along our route was indignant over the treatment that about 150 Yaruros had received at the hands of unknown local "jefes civiles" about a month before. They were seized and matcheted to death, reducing the total population of this tribe (excluding bands that may be hidden along the Sinaruco River) to one-half. My presence in their midst naturally aroused fears that some fresh calamity was about to befall them.

In the rainy season there is only one way of penetrating the llanos of Apure, and that is by boat. From the Orinoco one can sail or

122 paddle up the five rivers: the Apure, Arauca, Capanaparo, Sinaruco, and the Meta. In the dry season it is possible to make one's way southward from Caracas by way of Ortiz, Calabozo, San Fernando de Apure, to San Juan de Payara by automobile, and then on horseback to Cunaviche and beyond. Beginning our journey from Caracas at the end of January, we followed the latter route.

San Juan de Payara and Cunaviche are ancient colonial mission villages and the farthest outposts of civilization in the llanos. There are no missions there now. Their populations are typically llanero; that is, civilized mixed bloods. We rode southward across the dry and sandy plains, over which roam herds of wild cattle and horses. Mirages, which amazed the widely traveled Humboldt, were frequent. In the treeless plains forests were suspended in the sky, horses ran through the air, and great clear lakes stretched out before us. But water was scarce, and had we not been guided by men who knew every square inch of the ground we should have suffered for lack of it. We picked up our guides in relays on the way, a merry, capable lot, with much Indian blood in their veins, conscious of being free men of the llanos whom no dictator nor army has been able to tame. At night, if we stopped at a ranch, we listened to cowboy songs accompanied by the harp and rattle, music which reflected Indian, Spanish, and Negro influences. Our meager baggage was carried by an unwilling bull. Using a common cowboy expedient, we tied its nose to the guide's horse's tail and the bull was literally dragged all the way to El Buron.[2]

123 We made our first contact with the Yaruros at El Buron, a ranch owned by Don Manuel Hurtado. Don Manuel, like most of the native llaneros, is sympathetic to the Yaruros, and keeps on friendly terms with them. With his help and that of his household, particularly a young woman called Maria, we attempted to establish friendly relations with the Yaruros. In the llanos human beings are not plentiful, and consequently, it doesn't occur to them to erect social barriers that would tend to keep various groups apart.

361 There was not much about the camp of the Yaruros to interest the
511 casual glance. There were present about a dozen women, eight men,
and some children. The extreme poverty and simplicity of the camp
were its outstanding features. There were no houses, nor shelters of
any sort; only a few old baskets, a few sticks, a few rags, calabashes
and water jars, and a few seminaked human beings lying half buried
in the sand under the shade of thinly leafed branches thrust into the
000 ground. Several fires were burning, and over them there were pots

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[2] In working cattle the llanero ties one end of his lariat to his horse's tail instead of to the saddle, which often he may be lacking. The horses are trained to keep the rope taut after the animal is roped.

252 Several fires were burning, and over them there were pots containing turtle eggs. Several large turtles and small crocodiles were broiling over a fire. The shells of the turtles and the hides of the crocodiles had not been removed, and for a moment we thought that they were being cooked alive, but soon discovered that they had been killed before being placed over the fire. There was little else to be seen. It was easy to understand the reaction of the casual traveler who, upon coming in contact with a primitive group, stops, looks, and goes away quickly with the impression that there is nothing there more than the glance takes in.

123 609 On approaching the camp, Pedro, the guide, shouted words of greeting in Yaruro, "keramai" (brother-in-law). He patted some of them on the back, asked after their health in Spanish, called everyone brother or sister-in-law, and tried to make himself generally agreeable. Maria busied herself with the women. The Yaruros' only response to their demonstrations of friendship was to extend their arms halfheartedly, in a llanero gesture of greeting, and to answer their questions monosyllabically.

In spite of our friendly overtures they would not accept me as friend or guest. They remained reserved and aloof. The young man pointed out as the headman resisted my attempt to draw him into conversation. The Yaruros watched us closely, taking in our least movement, and only averted their gazes when we looked directly at them. If one has never come in contact with South American primitives before, such a reception is decidedly disheartening.

123 522 An accident relieved some of the tension. I picked up a bow. Choosing the remnants of an old basket about 50 feet away for a target, I took careful aim and shot the arrow. I missed by more than 10 feet. The eyes watching me lighted with amusement and contempt, for it was inconceivable to them that anyone could exist in this world without knowing how to shoot a bow better than that. I shot again and this time I came within 6 inches of hitting my mark, a feat which aroused some interest. I placed another arrow on the bow, raised it, pulled back the string, as far back as my ear, and then, with a loud snap, the bow broke. Laughter greeted this exploit, not so much directed at me as at the owner of the bow who had spent several days fashioning it. He was adequately compensated but that did not remove his feeling of resentment.

123 That evening we again visited the camp. The camp fires were low, so we were scarcely able to see our way about. Pedro and Maria sang out cheery greetings, while we picked our way between scarcely distinguishable groups of humanity and piles of debris. A few grunts and a few indifferent gestures of greeting were the only acknowledgments of our presence. Even the distribution of several yards of tobacco failed to melt their reserve. They did, however, put up a

123 [513] hammock for me. They preferred to lie half buried in the sand, both for warmth and for protection from the mosquitoes.

Some of the bolder young men asked for rum. I had none with me. All along the road I had been told that rum was the only means of inducing the Indians to dance, but an ethnologist's work cannot be based on such an approach.

Through the diplomatic efforts of Maria, the Yaruros consented to sing and dance a little. I was able to arouse their interest in my flashlight, and to arouse their modesty and bewilderment when I flashed it upon them. My compass also drew an excited jabbering circle about me. But I was not able to engage them in conversation, and finally left them about midnight with the satisfaction that at least there had been no friction.

On the following day I sent them a pig, and later in the day again visited them. They were still shy and suspicious of me, but permitted me to go about the camp examining their artifacts.

731 There was not much to be done in this camp. The group was in a wretched state, still in mourning for their dead, living in fear of some fresh calamity, and although they were suffering hunger, too miserable to try to go back to the river where, at least, they would find food. Tribal customs prevented my engaging the old women in conversation and the men were too young and much too affected by llanero culture to tell me about their own people. Their advice, which I took, was to go farther south where we would find other Yaruro bands among whom I could find old men who could answer any questions.

123 I prevailed upon the leader of the band, Estaban, to accompany me. He was reluctant to go, not wanting to be separated from his young wife, and perhaps was afraid to trust himself alone with me. However, his desire for cloth and a mosquito netting was stronger than his fear. Estaban proved a loyal and faithful companion.

[177] We found the next band encamped on a beach by the Capanaparo River. Here they were temporarily in the employ of a llanero engaged in building a house. For several days I had no more success with them than I had had with the other band, so during that time we studied whatever was on the surface. However, I was not doing all the studying. The Yaruros were watching me closely and weighing my statements carefully. During this time Estaban was busy building up my reputation. What impressed them most was that I did not ask for their women, and that all I wanted to do was to talk with them about themselves.

One night their attitude suddenly changed. I had been sitting for hours on the sands in the midst of these people, waiting for them to give me a sign of friendliness, but they were silent and apparently

123 resentful of my presence. Acting on a sudden impulse, I asked one of the men sitting near me for a gourd rattle. There followed a discussion among the men, and finally they decided to give me one. Without much heart, and no will, I began to sing a song of the Bororos of Brazil, accompanying myself with the rattle. It was the song of another tribe, and I sang it badly; but my unwilling hosts were listening, recognizing the musical pattern as being akin to theirs. I sang another when I had finished the first, and then still another, not failing to notice at the same time that they were listening carefully, and passing comments to one another. When my repertoire was exhausted, I placed the rattle on the sands and smoked in silence. Nothing was said for some time. Then a hand reached for the rattle and a voice said in Spanish:

"Ahora canto yo." (Now I will sing.)

533 The speaker sat on the sands, facing east. He began a song, the melody of which sounded as wild as the medley brought to us by the wind. His people joined us and, sitting behind him in a semicircle, took up the chorus at the end of every stanza. The song was first a murmur and then a shout, but maintained its steady rhythm. When the moon brightened the tropical night with its colorless light, sharpening the many shadows and turning the waving palm leaves into quivering ribbons of silver, the Yaruros forgot all about the stranger
535 in their midst. As though on a prearranged signal, they arose and began to dance, as they sang, around a pole. Women danced as well as men, and the children joined in too. They danced all night, and it was not until the sun rose above the hills of Guiana that they stopped to seek an hour or two of sleep before setting off on the daily task of hunting their dinner.

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791 During the day I noticed that their fear of me had disappeared, but it was not until that evening that I discovered the reason for the change. I gathered a confused tale that the one who had led the singing was a shaman. My singing and gourd rattling had indicated to him that I was a shaman also, since only the shamans use the rattle among the Yaruros. Furthermore, he had asked the Yaruro gods who I was, and the gods, as well as the spirits of the dead Yaruros living with the mother goddess Kuma, had instructed him to tell these primitive hunters that I was different from the "Racionales" (name applied to the "civilized" llaneros) and, as evidenced by my singing, that I intended no harm to them; in short, that I was a Pumeh, one of Kuma's people, and lived very close to her land.

772 From the recital of the night's performance I gathered that the Yaruro's universe is presided over by a female being called Kuma, who lives in the west and who waits for the living Yaruros to return to her land; that in some fashion the water snake and the jaguar are

772 considered to be their ancestorial relatives; that once upon a time
[173] the Yaruros were very many and now very few; that the Yaruros
had been visited with great calamities the preceding year, and many
of their people had died through sickness and other destructive forces.

Also, I learned that, though I could gather inklings of a rich
123 spiritual culture and a good cross section of the material phases from
this band, I had to go farther down river to meet the spiritual leaders
of the remnants of this race if I wanted to reach the heart of the
Yaruros' religion, cosmology, mythology, and ethics.

791 In all of the primitive groups with which I have come in contact,
123 certain individuals are recognized as the leaders and authorities,
especially on such matters as religion and social organization. The
younger people hesitate and often refuse to discuss such matters altogether,
but age alone is not enough to qualify an individual as the
mouthpiece of the group. The Yaruros were no exception. As soon
as they grasped that I wanted to know a great deal about their history
and culture they urged me to talk to "Landaeta", their leader
and great "musico" or shaman. He, with his family, was hunting
on the lower Capanaparo. They offered to guide me to him. Accordingly,
we journeyed downstream by moonlight to avoid the heat
of the day, and as I subsequently discovered, to avoid meeting with
crocodile hunters.

361 About noon the next day we sighted several empty canoes drawn up
482 on the bank, and knew that there must be more Yaruros nearby. We
462 landed on the sandy beach and awaited their return. They came
early in the afternoon, the men carrying turtles and crocodiles slung
on poles, the women with baskets filled with changuango, leaning forward
as they walked, looking not unlike grotesque apes under their
heavy loads; and also, little children carrying their share of food,
[152] straggling behind. Upon seeing me they were frightened, but did
not run away.

My Yaruro paddlers acted the part of mediators perfectly, for soon
123 afterwards we were all embarked and moving downstream to join
the main body of Landaeta's band which, I was told, was encamped
[152] several miles downstream. Their good humor almost amounted to
462 gaiety. The three canoes moved steadily down the river, the men
paddling hard, and the women sitting quietly and casting shy inquisitive
glances in my direction.

361 We found Landaeta and his people on a large exposed wind-swept
beach. There was the white sand, the strong wind blowing from the
east raising it into dust clouds, and the intense glare from river and
sand; a few water jars, a few baskets, several refuse heaps with
buzzards feeding at them, canoes drawn up on the beach, and some

361 captive turtles; and a few human beings were sitting or lying in the midst of all this, and exposed to all of the elements.

203] 791 Among primitive people news travels rapidly. Landaeta, in this case, received me with the air of one who was expecting a visitor and it turned out that my reputation had preceded me. Not only did he know that I was in the country, but also why I was there. He was expecting me in order to teach me his ways and the ways of his people, and to learn my ways and the ways of my people. To him I was a shaman, no different than himself, who knew their mother goddess intimately and who was perhaps related to the gods themselves. He asked me for pictures of Kuma and Kuma's land. I soon discovered that he was under the illusion that in some way I was on intimate terms with the Yaruro's god.

763 A little to one side a branch was planted in the sand, and lying in its thin shade a girl was waiting to die. She was burning with fever and delirious. Her people were hovering over her, without being able to alleviate her sufferings or to help her to the end of life. Her malady was a new one to them, passed on by the newcomers to their world, and therefore they had no remedy for it.

756 123 The sick girl was Landaeta's daughter and as one physician to another, he came to me requesting that I save his daughter from death. Being neither physician, magician, nor priest, I responded to his plea the best way I could. Lest I be drawn into a situation of attempting to cure a sick person without adequate knowledge of the sickness or its remedy, I moved off the same day to seek other Yaruros; but only after Landaeta had promised that he would commence his journey in the cool of the evening and rejoin me several days later.

577 It has often been said that to accept the promise of a primitive Indian is to abandon all thought of its being remembered. Perhaps it would seem that I put too much faith and trust in my friends in sitting down to wait for them to join me. But a promise made and accepted without coercion is to the Indian one that has to be kept; and, as in many other cases of my experience with primitive people, this one was kept.

123 That the feeling of suspicion had not disappeared completely was proven by the attitude of another hunting group which I visited. I went alone among them, and unarmed. On my arrival in a canoe, carrying no equipment, they sullenly warned me to keep away from them and their camp. However, good will is never unproductive, and when they saw that I merely squatted on the sands, shared my tobacco with them, said nothing, and then cheerfully paddled away, their hearts must have melted, for several days later they too had joined my band of friends, later becoming among those most deeply attached to me.

123 342 We camped on a large wind-swept beach on the Capanaparo and waited there for Landaeta. While waiting I made visits about the country, seeking out Yaruros wherever I could find them. In one nearby group I noticed that unlike most of the Yaruros, these had built permanent shelters, constructed similarly to the houses of the ranchers. However, there was one significant difference. With true Indian logic, they had left the walls open at the bottom, so that the wind could sweep through the house and keep it cool and free from insects.

791 One morning we embarked to visit a group led by Pablo Reyes, being on an island in the Orinoco, at the mouth of the Capanaparo. Pablo Reyes had been described to us as a very old and very wise man. Borrowing a small dugout, we set out to visit him, traveling [311] mostly by night. On our way we saw and heard a great deal of animal and bird life, for the lower part of the river was less hunted by the Yaruros than the upper part. On the banks we saw numerous tracks of the cats, we saw many capibaros or "chiguires" and we were often serenaded by the roar of the howlers.

133 Our entrance into the Orinoco was dramatic. We were catapulted out of the swift waters of the mouth of the Capanaparo and staggered about among the powerful cross currents and eddies at the confluence of the two rivers. The east wind made travel no easier, as it was blowing a gale. On the far side of the Orinoco were the hills of Guiana, rough and jagged, with gnarled vegetation, and dark patches of jungle growth. There were several islands of odd shape, and one of them, about halfway across the Orinoco, was the Linda Bara, to which we made our way.

177 Encamped on this island we found Pablo Reyes' band and a number of "Racionales," that is, "civilized," Venezuelans of the llanos, who during the dry season take to living like the Indians, except that they clutter their shelters with civilized equipment. The result is that their houses are infested with parasites of all kinds. However, they too live upon crocodiles, turtles, and the eggs of the latter.

311 237 This portion of the Orinoco is, in late March and early April, the gathering ground of both Indians and Racionales. The region teems with turtles. By common agreement, stretches of the beaches where the turtles are known to gather in large numbers are not hunted until April, at which time the people dig up thousands and thousands of newly laid eggs out of which they make an oil for export. [438] The center for this commerce is the little settlement of La Urbana, originally a Capuchin mission established about 1750.

791 Like Landaeta, Pablo Reyes had also learned of my coming, and was ready for me. He too is a shaman, and delights in speaking to a sympathetic listener about religious themes, of his conception of

791 the universe, his understanding of life and death, of the history of his people and their future, of morality, and of justice. Likewise he was anxious to hear what message I had to bring from my people
124 in respect to these things. So, sitting under the shelter of some
592 branches, we talked. As we talked we both worked. Pablo Reyes kept his hands occupied making string, fixing bows and arrows, and I, when not busy writing, pretended to carve little figures out of wood. The children played about us and Pablo's three wives kept shyly in the background, though listening carefully to what we said and often throwing inquisitive glances in our direction.

122 Profiting by our proximity to Guiana, I decided to visit Urbana
172 where I could buy some goods for my friends and at the same time gather information about archeology. The wind blew so hard it proved necessary to drag the canoe along the shore of the island until we found the best place for a crossing. The sand was raised in clouds and our bodies were peppered with it so that we were forced to cover up closely. It finally proved impossible to continue and we were forced to stop and camp in the open with our backs to the wind and no shelter except what we could get from our hammocks. But holding them up was as much a hardship as to be bombarded by sand. We made one attempt to cross the Orinoco in the afternoon but we were forced to give it up. Finally, late in the afternoon, putting our trust in "God and the Virgin," as the Venezuelan canoemen say, we launched the canoe and reached La Urbana about midnight. Our stay there was necessarily short and we hastened back to Linda Bara the following day, but I gathered enough from the examination of collections at the Salesian Mission to determine that the archeology on that side of the Orinoco is quite different from that of the llanos.

136 At sunset as we were approaching the island we saw an army of bats in flight. The bats were coming as a cloud out of a Guiana hill in the far distance, and flew directly over us, and across to the other shore of the river, disappearing into the forest. We watched this vast army for about 15 minutes and then continued on our way, not because we had seen the last of the bats, but because time was short. I was told by my guide that this daily flight of the bats from the hills of Guiana across the Orinoco generally lasts two hours. How many thousands of them live in this cave and fly daily to forage for food in the forest is a matter of conjecture. The bat, so plentiful
[172] in this region, seems to have inspired the ancient potters of the llanos to use the head as a motif of decoration.

124 When we reached Pablo Reyes the next day we found there several other Yaruro families, relatives of Pablo, encamped with him. We talked some more, then departed several days later in order to return to Landaeta, who proved to be my best informant.

502 Without the aid of the Yaruros the crossing of the Orinoco would
have been impossible. They are expert canoeists and safely ferried
our baggage to the other side. Believing that I could handle a canoe,
for by this time according to the Yaruros there wasn't anything
that I could not do, since their gods had told them that I was one
of them, I was asked to cross in an empty canoe, with the help of a
12-year-old boy. The canoe had several gaping holes in stern and
bow about 10 inches in diameter. With serious misgivings, I em-
barked with the youngster paddling in the bow. Cross-currents,
winds, and whirlpools made the half hour a very exciting one. Several
times I gave up hope of crossing safely or of returning to our start-
[152] ing point, only to be encouraged by the laughter of my young com-
panion who, when we were in extreme danger, would turn and grin
happily at me. However, we crossed safely and soon afterwards
we hoisted sail, which consisted of my mosquito net tied to an im-
provised mast, and with the east wind behind us and with gunwales
even with the water, we went flying up the Capanaparo. Our
sailing was far from being monotonous, for every few minutes it
was necessary to use strength and skill to keep the canoe upright.
Three days later we reached Landaeta's camp.

123 The trip to Urbana had been exciting and interesting, but I brought back with me ulcers on my feet which incapacitated me for the rest of my stay with the Yaruros. My feet, swollen to immense proportions and with open sores, refused to support my body, and I was forced to forego any further trips, short or long. My life consisted from now on, for about six weeks, of lying on the sand or in a hammock, surrounded by my affectionate friends, talking about the universe, the Yaruros, and their ideas.

In order to make it possible for Landaeta and his people to stay
with me on this particular beach rather than move about in search of
food, I turned over all of my food stock to them, which was con-
sumed in two days, and thereafter they shared equally with me the
products of the hunt. From that day on, I was completely in their
224 care and Landaeta never left me. The burden of hunting fell on the
755 younger men who went out every morning in search of crocodiles
and turtles, of honey, palm nuts, roots, and fish. My illness was of
great concern to the Yaruros. They did what they could to make
me comfortable and they went to special trouble to bring titbits,
such as honey and nuts. Landaeta and a woman shaman sang over
me often. This illness was a fortunate event in a way, for it per-
mitted an uninterrupted intimacy between us.

181 There is a sharp contrast between the simple primitive material culture of the Yaruros and the wealth and poetic intensity of the spiritual. The casual visitor would see merely a naked people plying

181 up and dow[illegible]e rivers in their canoes, or lying on the sand, feasting
on crocodile or turtle. He would see stolid fixed faces, uncommunicative, affrighted. But if this traveler were to stay he would discover that from sundown to sunrise the Yaruro lives in an intensive romantic world which he cannot and rarely would care to share with anyone else.

576 We returned from the trip to La Urbana at sundown when bars of
yellow, blue, and white light streaked the western sky. The Yaru-
787 ros were sitting on the sands watching this phenomenon with a cer-
821 tain rapture. They sat quietly and in silence facing the west until
the lights had faded and merged into a subdued golden glow. Then Landaeta came and greeted me affectionately. He spoke of what we had just seen in the western sky, explaining that it represented a greeting from the mother goddess Kuma, to her children the Yaruros and to me. The other men came also, and the women too put their arms about me, but the latter kept their faces averted as is proper in Yaruro culture. We settled ourselves on the sands. Small fires were burning with remnants of turtles and crocodiles broiling over them. The sands glistened in the moonlight that soon came upon us. Araguato monkeys roared in the distance. An occasional bird sang. Insects hummed. Toninos frolicking in the water came up to blow lustily. And Landaeta explained that these animals were also children of Kuma and that everyone in Kuma's world was glad that I had returned.

553 We smoked and Landaeta talked, recounting what his gods had
123 told him about me; that now I was one of their family, and he affec-
tionately called me "adjimai oteh" (elder brother), which became the standard form of address by all of his people. In return I was asked to call them little brother and little sister.

796 At a point Landaeta rose and walked away into the darkness. His
791 son and nephew followed him soon afterwards. He returned after
533 an absence of half and hour, wearing his shaman's ceremonial cap
and breechclout. He went to sit on the clean white sands to the east of the camp, where he remained still and quiet for a long time. His wife went to him with a lighted cigarette. He smoked this in silence and alone. Finally he made a sign and his son and nephew rose immediately to plant a pole a few feet in front of him, and then retired again into the darkness. After some time Landaeta rose, and facing the east in front of the pole, continued to smoke in silence. It seemed a long time before he began to sing, softly and hesitantly, which time was measured by the rising of the stars. After he had finished two songs his wife approached him again, thrusting into the ground, close to the pole, a stick from which hung a small basket. Landaeta continued standing, facing the east and singing, pausing briefly between

791 songs. His nephew went to stand behind him; his son went forward
796 to stand at the left shoulder of his cousin. These two boys joined in
533 the singing, repeating Landaeta's song stanza after stanza. A few
women, led by Landaeta's wife and daughter, went to stand at his
right side, and joined the boys in answering the songs of the shaman.
They stood there in front of the pole singing until the Southern Cross
hung high in the sky. Then Landaeta's wife took a gourd rattle from
534 the basket and gave it to her husband, who immediately began to
791 shake it, its liquid tone blending harmoniously with the voices. The
796 singers became more animated when they heard the rattle, and soon
535 they began to dance, jerking the body forward and backward, rhythmically
and in unison. At times Landaeta would shake his rattle violently
and his voice would betray his deep excitement. His wife from
[276] time to time would give a lighted cigarette to him, holding it to his
mouth until it was consumed. At midnight the shaking of the rattle
became more frequent and more violent, and finally, in the middle of
one song, everyone began to move around the pole. The women put
their right hands on the shoulder of the one ahead, and soon were running
and stamping the right foot as they did so. The men formed an
inner circle, dancing one behind the other. At the end of each song
they paused for a moment lined up in their original positions. As the
night wore on, both singing and dancing became more and more animated
until the shaman appeared to be in a frenzy. His voice rose in
pitch, his rhythm was faster, and more strongly accentuated, and all
sang with greater feeling. The shaman danced in jerky movements,
bending and twisting his body, half spinning about, first one way then
the other, until he seemed to be quivering all over. The dance around
the pole became almost a mad run, made more difficult by the soft sands
and the complex movements of the body. The men would leap high
and as the right foot was stamped in unison, a resonant beat was
produced that seemed to blend with the pulsating roar of the howlers
brought to us by the wind, and marked off by the rich rattling of
the gourd and the choral singing. In the morning hours the wind
rose again, blew more violently, and the roar of the monkeys became
stronger, and the Yaruros sang passionately. It was then, when the
morning star was already high, and dawn lighted the eastern horizon.
that they stopped.

600 The sun awoke me, and though I had slept barely two hours I felt
quite refreshed. I sat up to look about me. There was the vast
stretch of sand, the fringe of jungle, and the sparkling river. My
513 Yaruros were sleeping half buried in the sand, behind basketry to
shelter themselves from the wind. The vultures were already at the
521 piles of refuse, feasting on crocodiles and turtles. Soon the sun awoke
778 my friends, and they too sat up to gaze quietly at the western sky
where they believe their gods live.

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513 where they believe their gods live. It was only when the sun began
521 to burn our bodies that they approached me to chat. They expressed
their concern over my illness and soon busied themselves to make me
as comfortable as possible. While I distributed among them a few
123 presents bought for them in Urbana, and turned all of the food over
to Landaeta, the younger men were busy building a sun shelter, an
arbor of the sweet-smelling guava bush, though for themselves they
had only branches thrust into the sands, giving only a thin shade.
From now on, I was completely in their care, and they were careful
nurses and tender friends. The best of the hunt was mine, and even
the women delighted in taking care of my clothing, and in bringing
me delicacies.

They were glad to see me, and the women shamans soon began their
chants while the men surrounded me and told me in their own language
and in broken Spanish what had occurred the previous night.
[562] Men are prohibited from singing during the day, but the women sit
in swinging hammocks and chant their songs. I learned, too, that
Landaeta's daughter had not died, for there she was, grateful and
shyly looking at me, completely well. They attributed her cure to
me, though I was not at all responsible for it. During the night,
they told me, the gods had come among us, and told them that I, too,
was one of Kuma's children, and again they insisted that I was related
to them.

787 I learned that Puaná and Itciai are cocreators with Kuma, the
mother goddess, and they are directly responsible for the actual crea-
776 tion of the world. Hatchawa, in the form of a litttle boy, is another
773 god who has given mankind fire, the bow and arrow, and many other
blessings. Now, when the shaman sings at night his soul leaves his
body and travels to the land of Kuma, leaving his body behind. The
gods may come then, enter his body in the form of songs, and transmit
their messages to the Yaruros. They had come the night before
to greet me and to reassure my friends of my goodness and my own
powers of shamanism.

We sat, smoked, and talked all day. In the afternoon we feasted
512 on crocodile, turtle eggs, wild roots, palm nuts, and honey. Finishing
our dinner, we sat quietly facing the west, watching the skies.
As the sun set low again, rays of gold, blue, and white shot into the
sky from the horizon, and my friends rejoiced at this certain greeting
of Kuma to us.

821 Darkness came upon us, and in anticipation of a long night of singing
and dancing—I could sing but could not dance, since I could not
stand up—I lay on the sands to rest before the beginning of the ceremonies,
but the skies interested the Yaruros and they came to tell me
what they read there. The brightness of the stars and the changing

821 formations held a deep fascination for them. I understood but little of it, for their Spanish was too broken, and I was unfamiliar with Yaruro. So we spent the evening in quiet conversation and amity, conscious of the soft voices of the women in the background, children, laughter, and always the throbbing roar of the distant bands of 825 howlers which was brought to us by the wind. To the Yaruros the howlers were formerly men.

Landaeta relayed to me questions uppermost in his wife's mind. Did I have a wife in my own country? Did I have any children? Why had they not come with me? Once in Brazil I had been asked similar questions by another naked primitive fold, and I had answered truthfully that I had neither wife nor children. I remember their confusion and amazement. In their eyes I was a great man, and therefore I should have had many wives and many children. It is certain that they really never believed or understood my answer. So, in this case, not wanting to make extensive explanations about our civilization, which not only does not insist that men and women marry, but even makes it very difficult for them to do so, I lied, answering that I was married and had one son. Of course I had to describe both wife and boy to the inquisitive women. They wanted to know if her skin was the same color as mine, and her hair as white as mine, and what did she wear on her body? Also, they made me 784 promise that some day I would bring my wife and boy to them, so that the women who, because of social taboos, could not converse directly with me, would be able to do so with my wife.

821 As we talked of these things, falling stars played in the heavens, "messengers of Kuma" according to the Yaruros, the big dipper swung higher, and the southern crosses began their journeys. For a while the wind died down, and the monkeys were heard no more. Always responsive to the world in which they live, the Yaruros became silent and still. And then, as the moon rose above the hills of Guiana, Landaeta disappeared in the darkness to return later and begin his singing.

796 Unlike our own religious ceremonies, there was no attempt at cre-
781 ating artificial seriousness. The children played about noisily under the very nose of the shaman without reproof, and the adults talked happily. The imminent communion with the gods was an event of festive proportions and no restraints were put on normal and natural behavior before joyous events.

533 There was no dancing on this night, in deference to me, for I could not participate in it, but we sat in a semicircle and sang after the shaman.

787 Itciai arrived and I was helped to sit close to the shaman. Appar-
791 ently Itciai was talking about me, referred to as "the Man." I lighted a cigarette and held it to the shaman's mouth. Without interrup-

787 791 tion of the song it was smoked in the shamanistic manner, or rather spirit style, and Itciai began to explain who I was. He said that he knew me well, that I had visited Kuma's land many times, that I was a shaman; that my family was well, that my wife was waiting for me, and that my son was so anxious he began to fear that I was dead. He said that there was something big being saved fo. me in my country. I was a good man, and a man like the Yaruros; that he was glad I liked the Yaruros so much, and that he was glad I was living with them. I had nothing to fear, since on my death I would go to Kuma land. Itciai was saving for me a beautiful large horse to ride in the land of the gods.

During this long discourse about me from Itciai, which lasted about one hour and which was translated to me only in fragmentary fashion, the shaman often, at the beginning of a new thought, would shake the rattle violently before my face, and continue the same frenzied tone and shaking throughout. The people sang lustily, with feeling likewise, a great compliment to me.

[185] Itciai[1] had something to say about the Yaruros in general, namely, that they were doomed to die, but that a better world and life awaits them with Kuma. They will have houses and cattle, clothing, tobacco, and all food; they will be born again there, young and strong. This world will come to an end because the Yaruros are being killed off.

Later Hatchawa[1] came. I had a cigarette ready for him. He appreciated it and asked the shaman why I didn't drink of the shaman's drink. He urged me to drink it. I was a Yaruro. He also acknowledged my acquaintance in my own country and in Kuma's, and expressed deep affection for me. He brought good news of my family, saying to hurry back to my wife since she had been waiting for me with much love for a long time. He got another cigarette and I was embraced several times.

The next to come was the father of one of the Yaruro men, and as soon as I heard of it I offered a cigarette. It was properly acknowledged and the people were told by the spirit that indeed I knew a great deal, since I had cigarettes ready to greet the spirits. At about 3 o'clock in the morning came the god Puaná, expressly to greet me. He said that I lived in another land which he himself had made and that he was glad I had come to visit this land. He received three or four cigarettes. He described my land as being like that of Kuma, high and beautiful. He gave me further news of my family and said that he was keeping for me much cattle and many horses in the land of Kuma.

781 Puaná[1] was greeted with happy laughter and general approval, the reception as demonstrated by the quality of the frenzied singing.

[1] [Itciai and Puaná are creator gods; Hatchawa is the fire-giver .... Analyst]

781 Puaná stayed with us for about an hour and a half, talking most of the time about me.

And finally at about 5 o'clock Kuma herself came to visit me and,
787 like Hatchawa, urged me to drink of the shaman's drink. I had to
791 drink a gourd full of it, since it was held to my lips until I finished it. She gave me messages similar to the others. Finally other Yarures came, and the shaman eventually returned, being greeted with affection by all. We stopped when the sun rose and began another day of primitive life. We had danced and sung almost continuously for 36 hours.

This was my reception among the Yaruros after my return from La Urbana. We talked day and night about religion, and about
606 the world in which we lived. I learned that a mother-in-law and
582 son-in-law must never look upon each other and never talk to each
604 other, though they must be careful to do each other service; that a man must marry his first cousin, and that socially he is under obligation to his maternal uncle who later becomes his father-in-law. Under Landaeta's tutelage the material in this report was compiled. In a sense, therefore, this is his report.

124 One day I announced to Landaeta that I would have to leave in the
123 near future, giving as a reason that my wife and child needed me at home. Actually, there were other considerations; my physical condition was becoming worse, though the sores on my feet were a little better; and for the time being I had quietly exhausted the possibilities of obtaining fresh material from my friends. After all, we had been in contact with each other for six weeks, the major portion of it living communely and conversing with the shaman continuously day after day, sometimes even from sunrise to sunrise. My daily schedule consisted of rising at sunrise, drinking a little coffee sometimes brought to me by Landaeta, and immediately plunging into discussions of religious themes. This would last up to about 10 o'clock when Landaeta would withdraw and busy himself making string or carving gourds for several hours. During this period I would seek clarification of some points from whomsoever was present, or work on social organization, or on genealogy. In the early afternoon Landaeta would be back with new material, new ideas, having thought over what he had said, what I had said, and what still needed to be said. This would continue until sundown.

521 Then there was a short intermission for dinner, but soon afterwards I was hurried over to the eastern edge of the camp, where Landaeta and his people sat after dinner, and there we would sit while the women made cigars for us, talking about mythology, religion and general philosophical concepts. These discussions would last until 10 or 11 o'clock, and often much later, and not rarely shamanistic

521 performances would be given which would last until sunrise. Therefore there was an intense exchange of ideas for relatively long times with no rest.

361 The time came when Landaeta became a little restless. He was not accustomed to camping on one spot for more than two or three days at a time and he himself had done no hunting since I had joined them. Besides, the men and women had to forage farther and farther away for food. If my physical condition had permitted, it would have been well to continue living with them, moving from place to place, as is normal.

123 152 However, I knew I had to return to civilization quickly. The effect of my announcement on my hosts was interesting, and touching. It will be recalled that I had appeared in their midst as a stranger and a potential enemy and it was through a fortuitous event that I was accepted by them, not only as a friend but as a relative who worshipped the same gods. Since then I had actually been given an affectionate place in their emotional lives and they were sorry to see me go. They understood the reasons that were making it urgent for me to leave, especially understandable was the fact that my "wife and child" who had not seen me for many months were waiting for me to return. Nevertheless, they expressed sorrow, a certain amount of listlessness began to appear and they would come to me and sit by my side, telling me that they would be a rather lonesome people after I had gone; that they liked to talk about religious matters, and that when I would no longer be there with them they would have no one to talk things over with. This attitude affected the men and women in a very curious way. We had very little food in the camp, but still they would not go out and gather fresh quantities. And when I urged them to do so they answered that the knowledge of my coming departure made them very sad, and consequently they did not have the proper spirit to gather food, or even to eat.

609 511 These people have very little in the way of excess goods. Each family has a few baskets, perhaps a water jar, a mat or two, scraps of clothing and their tools, nothing more. And these generally were in very poor condition from long use. Knowing that I wanted to take back with me some of these things, they became busy weaving hammocks, making basketry and even pottery, so that I would take back to my "wife and child" objects new and well-made. This reaction on their part was spontaneous and they all expressed the idea that I should take back with me only new, well-made articles to remember them by; so for about a week before my departure there was intense activity around camp.

The day of my departure finally arrived and I said good-bye. There was no ceremonial wailing as had attended my departure from the

609 Yawalapiti village in Brazil; but the very silence was expressive of the mutual sorrow at our parting. Landaeta loaded me and my baggage in a canoe and we drifted slowly away, leaving on the vast beach a few human beings alone in a strange world, but not lonesome, since they live with their gods.

ECONOMIC LIFE

231 The Yaruros practice no agriculture and keep no domestic animals
except the dog, even though they inhabit country over which roam wild
horses and cattle, and they come in contact with the "llaneros," who
are typically pastoral. Therefore, their daily dinner is dependent
upon, and determined by, indigenous environment and their own
262 energy. The quality and abundance of their food supply depends
upon seasonal variations of climate. A period of drought or a too
prolonged period of rain may cause famine. They would be allowed
a degree of freedom from the daily task of acquiring dinner were they
able to store any food for future use. The tropics, however, offer
special difficulties to this which are not present in more temperate
climates. Their knowledge of what is edible in various localities,
where to find it, how to gather it, and how to keep it and what is
available at different times of the year are all factors important to the
satisfaction of their most fundamental need. Technical knowledge
in the making of tools and methods of hunting and fishing are also
important.

262 784 As if not satisfied by the degree of their dependency on it, and on their technical knowledge, primitives often self-impose other limitations. There may be an abundance of a particular animal which could be hunted easily or a particular plant which could be gathered in quantity, yet the primitives very often raise barriers against such practices. The fact that they have religious and perhaps magical reasons for such attitudes explains but does not change the situation. Thus, for instance, among them deer may be plentiful in a region, the people may be starving, and yet no deer is killed and eaten.[*]

177 Limitations such as these are not entirely imposed by nature and by the culture of the people; often, the proximity and the attitude of other groups of mankind play their part. A weak tribe will be restricted in its lands over which it may wander, hunt, and claim ownership, and very often may be reduced to seeking a less desirable environment where food is even scarcer. Or a new people may seize its lands and they will be prohibited even from hunting on these lands. Or there may be an influx of peoples who will live partially on the hunt also, though their main source of food may be agricultural.

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[*] The peoples of the Kuluene river, Matto Grosso, Brazil, will not hunt nor eat deer.

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In the case of the Yaruros all of these factors have played an important role and are currently active in reducing their territories and food supply to a degree that will mean imminent extermination of the people. It is true that since the first settler arrived in their country the Yaruros could have made readjustments in their culture which perhaps might have permitted them to survive. They could have learned, for instance, to raise horses, cattle, and to cultivate the soil as the [178] Guajiros, living in a country similar to the llanos, have done. But they have chosen to remain firm in their own culture, own traditions, and own universe, and as a result are expecting to pay the penalty. Why they have failed to make the readjustment which would have brought them into a livable relationship with the newcomers and have persisted in keeping to their primitive, nomadic existence may be answered in the pages that follow.

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Dependency on hunting, fishing, and gathering of edible fruits and roots imposes nomadism upon a people and prevents living together in large groups. The degree to which a people have to wander, the extent of the territory over which they must roam, and the size of the group, is dependent upon the abundance of the food supply in the region. The Yaruro hunting groups are small and they stay in one camp not more than a few days; so, they are to be met plying up and down the river in their canoes or traveling over land to the water holes, ever hunting for food.

HUNTING TERRITORIES

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Each hunting group has a territory over which it is free to roam. Over this region only its members are allowed to hunt and gather fruits and roots, but the rivers, the main streams, are open to all. The accompanying map shows the limits of the present hunting territory of the Yaruros of the Capanaparo. [174] It would seem that anciently, when the Yaruros were more numerous, they roamed over a vaster region cut up into small portions over which hunting rights were distributed among various hunting family groups. I was assured that the Yaruros of the Sinaruco also have divided their country into family units.

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There is also a sort of division among the Yaruros which transcends family grouping. The Yaruros of the Capanaparo, for instance, consider themselves a unit, though loosely bound, as distinct from the Yaruros of the Sinaruco, so that they consider the land drained by the Capanaparo as theirs and the region drained by the Sinaruco as the land of the Yaruros of that river. And yet, above all this, there seems to be a tribal feeling as opposed to the tribal divisions. The real significance of this is that among the Yaruros there is permitted a degree of mutuality in the use of the hunting rights

619 not allowed to the neighboring peoples, such as the Otomacos or the
101 Achaguas. The social and linguistic bonds seem to be strong enough
to cause the Yaruros to recognize themselves as a distinct people.

FOODS

177 In the llanos food is not plentiful except in and along the rivers;
224 but the foraging activities of the Yaruros are restricted to the banks
of the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers for another reason. The
hunting of land animals has practically stopped for fear that they will
be accused by the ranchers of killing cattle. In recent years the activities
of the crocodile hunters have ruthlessly destroyed the game, and
since such hunters live on the country they have consumed a portion of
the available quantity of game on which the Yaruros depended for a
livelihood.

221 In the dry season game is concentrated along the rivers and the
225 water holes. It is considerably easier to hunt it then than in the
136 rainy season, when it is dispersed over the plains. The turtle, which
is found in great quantities in the waters of the Orinoco and its tributaries,
suffers a yearly mass hunt and destruction which has its effect
[237] on the food supply of the Yaruros. It has been discovered that the
turtle fat and eggs will produce a fine grade of oil which sells for a
high price. The result is that the breeding grounds of the turtles
become yearly a scene of great activity and destruction. No one knows
how many thousands of turtles and turtle eggs are gathered and converted
into this oil late in the month of April.

136 The meat staple of the Yaruros is the *Crocodilus babu*, a small
225 crocodile which grows to about 6 feet long. This animal is hunted
262 daily and eaten in its entirety. Its meat is esteemed above that of any
other animal. On the other hand, the cayman, sought for its hide, is
[825] not hunted as a rule by the Yaruros. Perhaps this meat is not as
savory as that of the babu, but the Yaruros give the reason that the
large crocodile represents a race of mankind to which they are related.
So that although occasionally it may be hunted for the price that its
hide may bring, it is never eaten and never hunted consistently.

Next to the crocodile, turtles, including the matamata and tortoise,
are to be found broiling over the fires in every Yaruro camp, and if
they are not broiling they can be seen in shallow pools of water with
their forelegs tied to their hindlegs. In this way they can keep alive
but cannot walk away. The armadillo is seldom obtained and
[226] other meats appear occasionally on the diet of the Yaruros. Fishing
is resorted to when neither crocodiles nor turtles are obtainable. The
caribe, which is the piranha of Brazil, is esteemed but little. The
tonino, which can be seen gracefully playing in the water or can be
heard snorting in the rivers at night, is never hunted. It also is

136 thought to be related to the race of mankind. On the other hand, the
225 manatee is hunted occasionally. Birds are hunted but seldom, but the
262 meat of the iguana is prized. This animal is not found in great
[224] quantities, however, in the open plains.

The vegetable diet is somewhat more plentiful and varied. There are no restrictions or taboos on what can be eaten. In the dry season
262 it is the potato-like changuango, which is gathered by the women and
137 which is to be seen broiling over the fires at all times, and which is the
[251] only food which the Yaruros are able to keep for a few days by burying it in the sand. In the rainy season it is the chigua seed and the barbaco which form the basic foods. The following list includes most of the foods eaten by the Yaruros:

DRY SEASON

221 *Eggs.*—Terracai (small water turtle) (mostly in February), turtle (March,
262 April), galapago (tortoise—December), crocodile (cayman—February), babu (December).

136 *Meats.*—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire (capibara),
137 birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Changuango (root found in the savanna), barbaco (root found in the forest, mostly in May), guapo (a root found in the forest), wild yam (found in the savanna and the forests), fruit of the macanilla palm, honey, hearts of palm (in April).

DRY AND RAINY SEASON

Fish.—(Local Spanish names) tapuara, caribe, toporo, tachiama, palumeta, pavon, cajani, temblador (electric eel).

RAINY SEASON

Meats.—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire, birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Fruit of the moriche, chigua, barbaco.

PROPERTY

421 The Yaruros do not have much personal property. Nevertheless,
422 what each person possesses is respected scrupulously. This attitude is especially in evidence when, for instance, a visitor attempts to purchase such a thing as a pot. In my case I was forced to ask the men. In spite of any price that I might offer they never allowed themselves to give any kind of an answer to my offer. Instead they offered the explanation that the pots were the property of the women and, therefore, they had to be asked if they wished to sell them. My own property I left in camp often without anyone to watch over it, but never did I miss even a sheet of paper.

593 The sense of strict inviolability of personal rights carries over to personal services. Never did a husband order his wife to do anything outside of her proper domain. While I lived with them, in spite of the excellent care they gave me, even to the point of anticipating my wishes in a great many cases, never did a husband request his wife to prepare food for me. He asked her if she would, acting merely as my messenger.
604 No closer relationship can exist than between maternal uncle and nephew, yet even he does not feel free to ask any service of his nephew, nor to take the latter's personal property.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 522 Sexual dichotomy in economic activities is clearly defined. In a general way, it may be said that the rougher, harder, and more dangerous work belongs in the province of male activity and that there is no task which calls for strength or danger that properly belongs in the realm of woman's activity. Should any woman be engaged in a hard or dangerous piece of work and a man happens to be present there is a tacit assumption of the task by the latter. Hunting and fishing and presumably the act of fighting in war are man's tasks. The gathering of roots, fruits, seed, and their preparation belongs to
[222] the women. It is interesting to note that the gathering of honey, which entails some risk, is done by the men. The making of canoes, the making of implements, of hammocks, the activities in making camp are all in man's domain. The preparation of food and the making of pottery and basketry are woman's tasks.

HUNTING AND FISHING

224 868 857 Hunting and fishing are male occupations exclusively. As soon as the young boy is able to toddle about he is made to play with bow and arrow and learns to make these indispensable tools. It is a common sight to see little boys who are too young to be taken along by the men on hunting expeditions playing at the game of hunting; and when a man is in camp busily preparing his hunting equipment his young son is by his side working industriously on miniature bows and arrows.

225 411 501 The equipment of the hunter is simple. Bow, arrow, and canoe are indispensable. A Yaruro does not like to roam on land, but there is no need for him to do so since he can get his game in the watercourses or along their banks. So he sets off in the early morning, generally accompanied by his hunting companion, to look for crocodile (*Crocodilus babu*). He will hunt for other forms of life only reluctantly, having a special liking for crocodile meat.

Because of the shyness of crocodile the hunter is most often forced to shoot at it from a distance. Since an arrow will seldom kill one

225 411 501 of the beasts it is necessary to shoot it with a barbed arrow whose head becomes detached from the shaft but remains attached to the latter by a string. The babu will make for deep water and submerge, but the shaft will float on top, and the beast is drawn to the surface by its means, to be dispatched by another arrow or by a knife blow.

The technique for hunting turtles is similar but its execution is more difficult, due to the smaller size of the turtle. These generally can be seen floating on the water with their heads held erect above the surface.

226 Fishing is done mostly with bow and arrow. The hunter stands up on the prow of the canoe which is guided into the proper position by his companion paddling in the stern. When the hunter is almost over the fish he shoots his arrow some inches in front so as to allow for the deflection caused by the water.

224 Deer is seldom hunted since the Yaruro shun the land for fear that they may be accused of killing cattle. Unless the deer is caught on the river bank in the early morning or in the evening it is stalked. The hunter fixes his gaze on the deer and moves forward a few feet at a time, stopping stock still at the slightest sign of alarm on the part of the deer. In this way he can approach to within arrow range. [292] This technique takes great patience and time. The hunter may camouflage himself by painting his torso white and pasting feathers on it. He wears a mask in imitation of the jivaro stork, which consists of a black head and beak and a red collar around the neck. He may use the beak of the jivaro or substitute his bow for it. Mimicking the motions of the jivaro, he approaches the deer. When he is close enough he waits for the deer to look up, when he transfixes it [911] with an arrow. The arrow used is so heavy that it cannot be launched from afar.

222 In addition to these, the armadillo, the tortoise, and the chiguire are hunted. The hunter does not fail to gather turtle eggs, crocodile eggs, and honey as he roams along the river banks.

FOOD GATHERING

222 It is the task of the women to gather supplementary food. They organize their own expeditions. Armed with digging stick and baskets and accompanied by the children, they roam the plains, digging up the changuango, the barbaco, and the chigua.

MATERIAL CULTURE

511 In material culture the Yaruros are poverty stricken. Their nomadic existence limits their possessions to what they can carry with them in their canoes, which is very little. The whole range of objects made or possessed by the Yaruros consists of canoe, paddles,

511 bow and arrows, digging sticks, baskets, small hammocks, a water jar or two, a mortar and pestle, several fishhooks, fire sticks, and scraps of clothing. As a rule, each family will possess the minimum of these objects.

501 [313] CANOES.—A typical Yaruro canoe measured about 18 feet long. Its longitudinal cross section was as shown in plate 16, *3*. It was made of the "salao" wood.

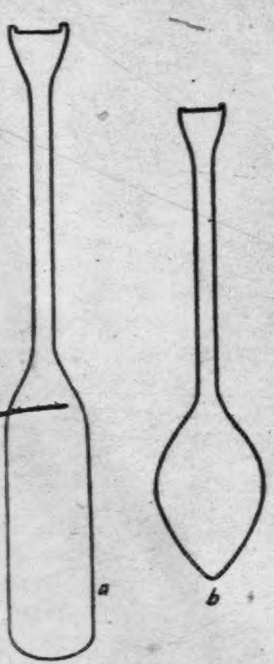

FIGURE 16.—Paddles. *a*, Type usually used by stern paddler. *b*, Generally used in the bow.

501 322 The only tools that the Yaruros have to fashion such a canoe are crude machetes, perhaps an ax, and fire. The canoes are never regular in outline and on the whole are rather crude. Both bow and stern end in a point and the bottom is round. These canoes are unstable, difficult to maneuver, and will split easily. No crosspieces are used to reinforce the canoe.

PADDLES.—Paddles are of two types, as shown in figure 16. The large paddles measure about 4 feet in length; the smaller paddles slightly over 3 feet. They are as crudely fashioned as the canoes and increase the difficulties of paddling.

411 [313] BOWS.—The bows are fashioned from macanilla or the mahaguillo wood. A large bow will measure about 6 feet, but most of them are closer to 5 feet. The inner surface of the bow is generally flat and the outer is curved. The greatest width on one such bow was about 1½ inches and its thickness less than 1 inch. When the string is relaxed these bows are perfectly straight. They are not reinforced unless they show signs of splitting. On the whole, these bows are inferior to [284] those made by many other tribes in South America. The bow string is tied as shown in figure 17, *e*, *f*, *g*,[1] with three clove-hitch knots.

411 226 237 ARROWS.—The Yaruros, like most other South American primitives, have a variety of arrows, each type being designed for a specific purpose. A fish arrow consists of a reed shaft to which is attached a bone point with resin and string. Often the upper end of the bone point will protrude away from the shaft to form a small barb. Three feathers are used and fastened as shown in figure 18, *f*, *j*, *k*.[2] At the feathers' end of the arrow a notched piece of Brazil-wood is inserted.

A somewhat similar arrow with an iron point is made. In this case the point is inserted into a worked piece of wood which, in turn,

[1] [see category 116, p. 205. ---Analyst]
[2] [see category 116, p. 206. ---Analyst]

411 226 237 is inserted into the reed shaft (fig. 19, *a*, *f*)[1]. The barb on the iron point is obviously more effective than on the bone point.

225 For crocodiles the arrow point is always of iron, barbed and detachable. Its length is considerably less than the other, measuring about 4 feet or less. A string about 30 feet long is attached to the point and wrapped tightly around the shaft. When the point strikes the animal the string becomes unwound and if the animal dives into the water the hunter can trace it by the shaft floating on the surface. He then proceeds to pull up the animal.

411 224 For deer and chiguire, land animals, a broad iron blade is used for the point, so heavy that one would suppose it would be a lance head. This is inserted into the shaft and at the point of insertion a crosspiece is fashioned to the shaft so that the point cannot penetrate more than 4 or 5 inches. The reason for this is that the Yaruro is afraid to lose his arrow should he fail to kill the animal and it were to run away. A barbless arrow will tend to fall out of the wound if the animal races away and then the hunter can recover it.

411 223 For birds, the bone-pointed arrows are used and sometimes a special arrow consisting of a shaft with a wooden knob. However, since birds are hunted so seldom there is very little use for special arrows.

411 326 412 The iron points are well made. Each man tries to possess himself of a stone and an iron hammer, but actually in the entire group that I saw, there were only two stones and one hammer. Iron is hard to obtain, and any scrap which comes into their possession is employed either as a knife or an arrow point. The iron is shaped both by hammering and by filing. I saw only one file in the group. At best, it must cause them a great deal of labor to fashion any of these points.

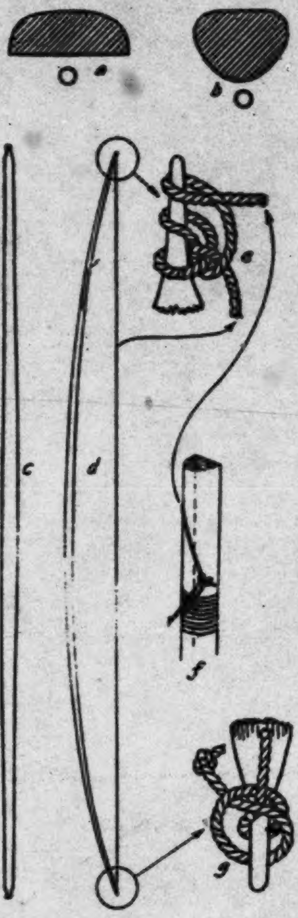

FIGURE 17.—Yaruro bows. *a*, *b*, Cross sections of bows. Circles represent original shape of wood, measuring about 7 cm before it is cut down to shape "*a*" and "*b*." *c*, *d*, Yaruro bow. One specimen measured 195 cm in length, 3.2 cm wide in cross section, 2 cm in thickness. *e*, *f*, *g*, Detail of knots on bow string.

[1] [see category 116, 207 --- Analyst]

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Perhaps that is one reason why no man had in his possession more than three or four arrows—for the most part he had only one of the iron tip kind.

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FISHHOOKS.—Most of the fishing is done with bow and arrow, but hooks are known to the Yaruros, and when they are able to obtain strong fine string they employ these hooks. Hooks are not only employed for fish, but even for the chiguire, and sometimes for the crocodiles. The simplest kind is that shown in figure 20, *c*, which may consist of bone or wood. It measures about 6 inches in length. A stronger point of iron or hard wood is used for the manatee. This type is shown in figure 20, *d*. For crocodiles, generally a hard stick sharpened at both ends and baited with a large piece of meat is used. The crocodiles will swallow the stick and, if it is attached to a thick wire, it makes an excellent means of capturing these beasts.

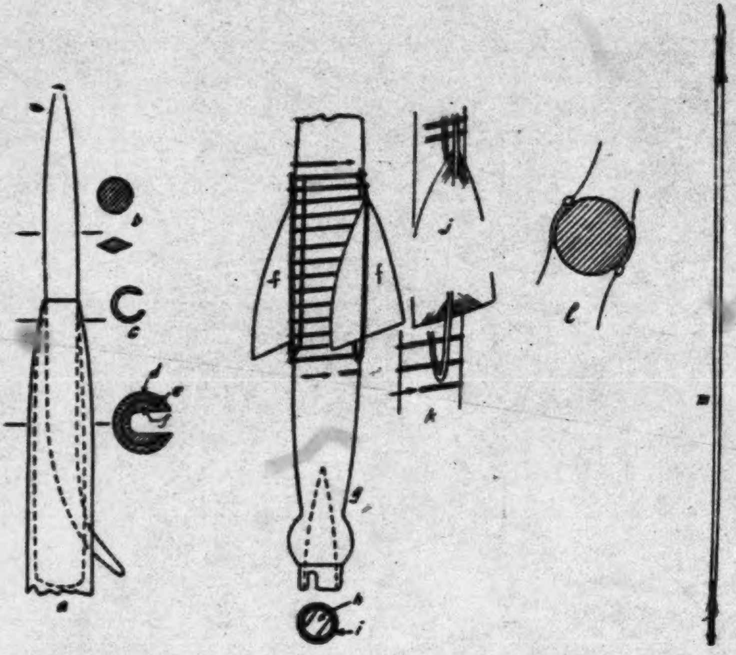

FIGURE 18.—*a*, Bone or iron point attached to shaft. *b*, Cross sections of points; round cross section is of the bone point; diamond-shaped cross section is of the iron point. *c*, Cross section of wax and twine binding. *d*, Cross section of reed shaft. *e*, Cross section of brazil wood to which point is actually fastened. *f*, Feathers. *g*, Butt end of arrow. *h*, Wooden plug nock. *i*, Reed shaft. *j*, *k*, *l*, Method of fastening feather to the arrow. *m*, Fish arrow.

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322
DIGGING STICKS.—Next to the bows and arrows, the most important implement of the Yaruro is the digging stick, which will consist of a wooden handle from 3 to 4 feet long slipped into the handle of an

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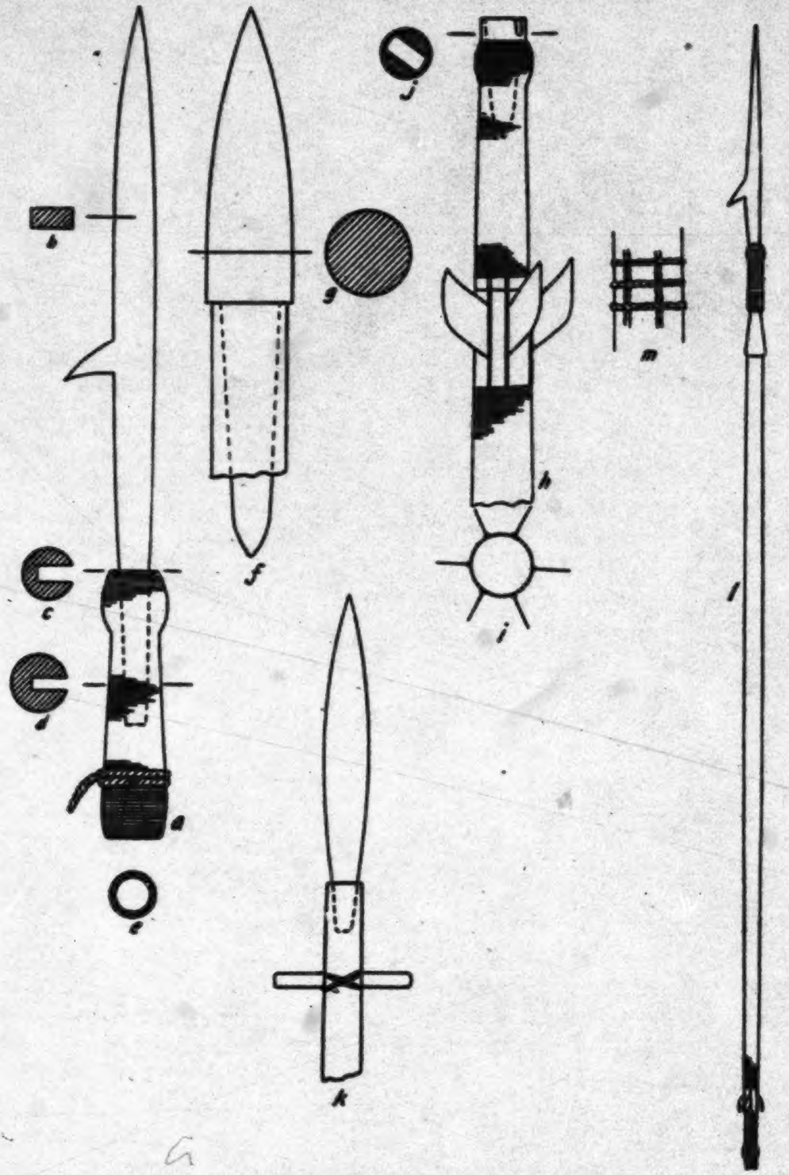

G

Figure 19.—*a*, Arrow point. *b*, Cross section of iron point. *c*, *d*, *e*, Cross sections. *f*, Details of point and wooden plug which is thrust into the reed shaft. *g*, Cross section. *h*, Method of fastening feathers to shaft. *i*, *j*, *m*, Details of *h*. *k*, Deer arrow, showing crosspiece. *l*, Harpoon type of arrow.

412 322 [937] iron hoe, which is also made by the Yaruro out of any heavy scrap of iron that they may gather. Sometimes they will work for the ranchers and with their earnings purchase this type of hoe from a trader. However, such a digging tool is quite a luxury and sharpened sticks are more common.

[252] [222] 415 322 Mortars and Pestles.—During the rainy season, the Yaruros gather chigua, a seed, which they dry and pound into flour. Mortars of wood shaped as shown in figure 20, *a*, *b*, are used and the pestle is any ordinary hard stick.

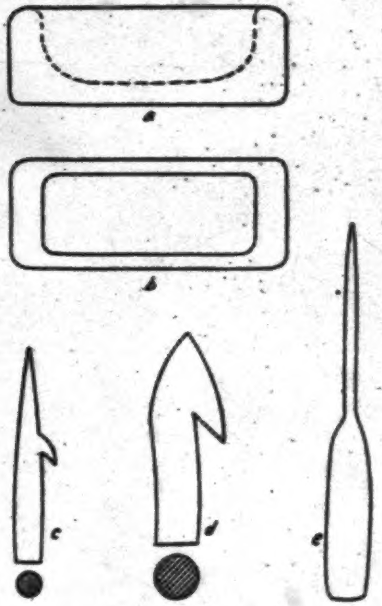

Figure 20.—*a*, *b*, Wooden mortar. *c*, Bone or iron point used for hunting chiguire. *d*, Hook used for manatee. *e*, Cooking paddle.

Cooking Ladles.—These are small wooden paddles used in cooking, especially when meat is boiling in a pot (fig. 20, *e*).

513 854 Hammocks.—The Yaruros prefer to sleep on the sands, especially during the dry season. The men make hammocks, however, small ones generally used by children as cradles, and by the women shamans when they sing, during the day. During the rainy season they may employ them for sleeping.

[137] 286 462 The fiber employed to make the hammock string comes from the moriche leaf. The string may be very fine, of course, depending on the interest of the maker. It is made by the men. To weave the hammock a loom is made of two poles thrust into the sand to which are fastened two crosspieces at both the top and bottom. The string is then wound around these crosspieces. The weaver employs a knotter's netting technique. When the entire hammock has been woven the weaving is held in place by another string thrust through one of the woven rows.

[137] 283 Rope.—The fiber mostly employed by the Yaruros is taken from the leaf of the moriche and the macanilla. The inner cortex of the leaf is stripped off and dried and then is taken apart strand by strand. These long fibers are then moistened and twisted together in two's and three's into a string by rolling them on the thigh with the palm of the hand. A stronger string is made in the same way and used for making hammocks. The bow strings are made from the fiber of the macanilla.

285 415 Basketry.—The Yaruros make two types of baskets, a coarse kind which is used once or twice and then discarded, and finely woven pouches which are carried by the hunters. The coarse basketry is often woven from one leaf. The finer type involves a more complex process. The outer cortex of the moriche leaves are stripped off and only the inner cortex, torn in narrow strips, is used. The techniques employed are fairly simple, as shown in figure 21.

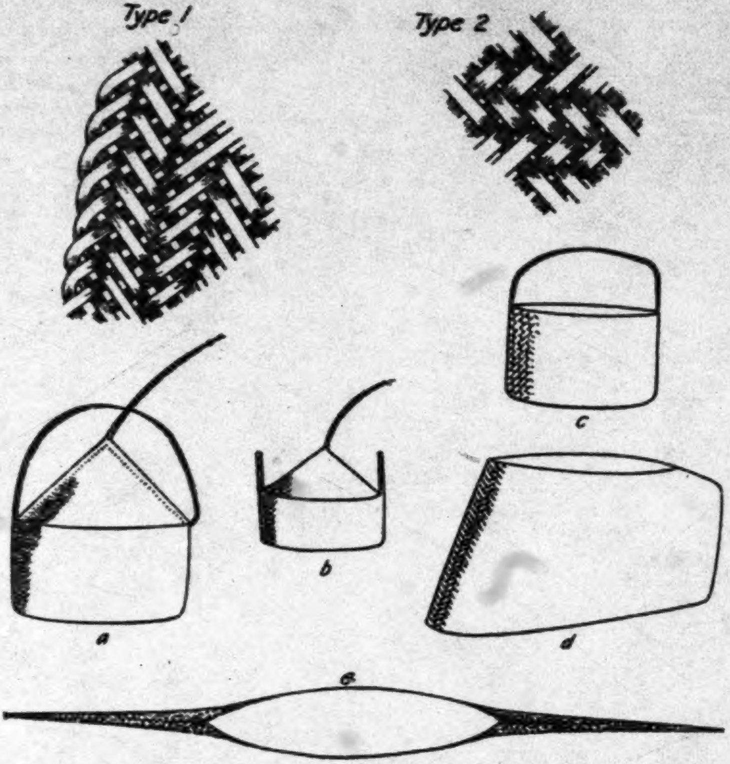

Figure 21.—Basketry. Type 1 and Type 2, weaves employed by the Yaruros. a, b, Pouches with flaps (Type 2 weave). c, d, Small baskets (Type 2 weave). e, Another type of basket used around camp (Type 2 weave generally). Only two weaves are employed by the Yaruros, both of which are shown (Type 1, Type 2). Baskets are used to carry food and to store objects. The coarser baskets, woven quickly and discarded after a few days, are woven as Type 1. The finer basketry, especially the pouches, are woven according to Type 2 technique.

372 Fire Sticks.—The apparatus used for producing fire among the Yaruros is very simple, consisting of merely two sticks of laurel wood which is found in great abundance along the banks of the rivers. One stick is notched about the middle. This stick is placed on the ground and held in place with the foot, while the other stick, fitted into the notch, is twirled rapidly between the palms of the hands.

CANOES

[481] 501 502 868 The Yaruros dislike to travel any distance afoot. The canoe, therefore, is practically his only means of transportation. As a result, they are extraordinarily good canoemen, learning both how to build and to manage one from childhood. It is not an uncommon sight to see little children of 5 or 6 years of age paddling furiously in midstream. Their expertness can best be illustrated by the following incident: The llanos are exposed to the trade winds in the dry season, which at times blow very hard. On our return from La Urbana we found the crossing of the Orinoco to the mouth of the Capanaparo a dangerous undertaking.

The Yaruro dugouts are clumsy affairs at best, but in addition to that, ours had a gaping hole about 10 inches in diameter in the stern and it was with some qualms that I stepped into it to negotiate the rather rough waters with the help of a 12-year-old boy. Since the Yaruro steers from the bow, that place of honor was allotted to the youngster, I furnishing the power. During the passage across I despaired several times of being able to hold the canoe in the right direction, but whenever we found ourselves caught in some especially difficult whirlpool this lad would turn and laugh, not in derision but in encouragement, which was calculated, I suppose, to bolster my spirit, but helped not at all in easing the strain on my arms. His knowledge of the currents and his proper timing in signaling to me to paddle one way or the other, as well as deft steering, finally got us across safely. When this incident was over and I looked back over the rough waters, my respect for Yaruro canoemanship increased manifold.

502 177 Sails are used on the Orinoco and its tributaries, both by the occasional traders and crocodile hunters. The Yaruros have had ample opportunities over several centuries to learn how to make use of them. In fact, some of the younger men who worked occasionally for the ranchers, or traders, do know how. However, in their daily plying up and down the rivers, hunting and fishing, they never employ the sail.

[181] Their conservatism is further illustrated by another fact. The Racionales will always pole their canoes when traveling upstream. The Yaruros know how to do this also, but only when they are working for someone else. In their everyday life they depend entirely on the paddle.

502 The steersman generally sits in the bow, especially when moving downstream and the paddler is alone, pulling the canoe after him. The paddler in the stern, if one is present, really furnishes the mo-
000 tive power. The Yaruro generally paddles sitting down in the bot-

516 the Yaruro generally paddles sitting down in the bottom
502 of the canoe on several cross sticks without any back rest or any foot rest on which to brace himself. To one not accustomed to such a position it is clumsy and painful, and easily fatiguing. The paddler's stroke is short, quick, and choppy, like that of many South American tribes in Brazil.

SHELTER

362 Yaruro shelter is the simplest thing in the world. Nothing simpler could be devised. Shunning the forest and camping only on the open beaches by the river, the shelter is devised for two purposes—to protect the family from the winds, the insects, the sun,
342 and in the rainy season from the rain. They make, therefore, a variety of shelters. The camp shelter for daytime in the dry season consists of branches thrust vertically into the sands. If there are any persons about camp during the day, which there are generally, they will sit in the shade of these branches, moving around them as the sun changes its position in the sky. At night they dig holes in the sand and lie in them, protecting themselves from the winds by a shelter of branches or basketry at the head. These shelters, however, must allow a certain amount of wind to come through in order to prevent the gathering of large swarms of insects. Sleeping in holes in the sand, they keep warm, since the dry winds make it quite
361 chilly at night. All of the Yaruro in the Capanaparo are too no-
364 madic to build better shelter than the types described, since they stay in one camp only a few days, generally two or three. They move about so much, both for the lack of game in the area and the refuse that accumulates around camp, even though the vultures can always be seen feasting upon the remains of crocodile and turtle. The Yaruro are aware that if they stay too close to such piles of refuse they may become infected.

101 However, the Yaruro living on Linda Bara, the islands at the
361 mouth of the Capanaparo, have such an abundance of food that they
342 make somewhat more permanent structures. This consists generally of a low hemispherical structure covered with palm leaves which reach to about 2 feet from the ground, leaving the interior open to the winds, but even these structures are abandoned in a few weeks because of the insect life. This is the type of structure that is employed during the rainy season when life becomes more sedentary.

POTTERY

317 At certain places along the banks of the Capanaparo the proper
323 clay is found for pottery. The type preferred is whitish in color. Generally a small quantity of yellowish red clay is mixed with it.

317 323 [302] [824] This same clay supplies the red and yellow ocher used for facial painting. The clay is tempered with the bark of the Mecla tree called "Toiin" in Yaruro. This bark is burned to an ash and the ashes are kneaded into the clay, which has been well moistened. Balls of this clay are then made, coiled, and placed one upon another. They are then flattened and smoothed out by hand or with the help of a piece of shell, water being applied liberally. The clay rests on a dish of pottery which is revolved when necessary. After the pot has been built up and smoothed down it is left in the sun to dry for two days. At the proper time a base of wood is made,

[531]

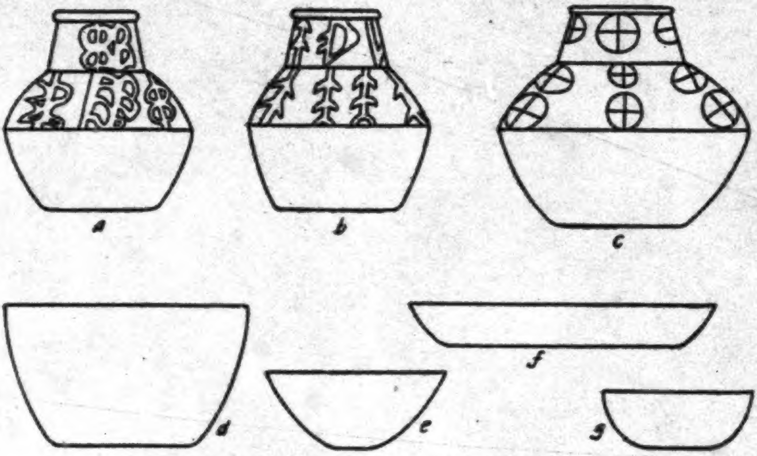

FIGURE 22.—Pottery forms and decorations. a, b, c, Water jars, showing painted designs. d, e, g, Bowls. f, Pottery plate used for toasting seeds.

the pottery placed on it and covered with other sticks, and then a hot fire bakes the pottery for about two hours. Such quick firing produces a poor quality of pottery, but leaves it porous. Since these pots are used only as water jars, this has the effect of keeping the water very cool (pl. 13, 2;[1] fig. 22).

CLOTHING

291 177 Most of the Yaruros whom I saw possessed some scrap of clothing which was worn both as protection against the weather and for social show. In many cases this clothing consisted of mere shreds, as can be seen in plate 15, *1*. The men wear coats and trousers or merely trousers. The women wear camisoles of the thinnest goods which in no way hides their nakedness. Most of this clothing is discarded when there are no visitors around camp, and

[1] [see category 116, and plate 3 ----- Analyst]

291 after I had been among the Yaruros for a time the women often dis-
177 carded their camisoles, even though I were present.

The men would normally wear a breechclout which originally was
291 woven by the women from the fibers of the moriche palm leaf, but
286 now it consists of a piece of cloth. Formerly the women wove wide
462 belts of the same fiber for the men, but this is no longer done. The
breechclout is held in place by a string tied around the waist.

291 The women, underneath their camisoles, still wear the old-fash-
287 ioned Yaruro girdle, which is made from the fibers of the moriche
palm. The fibers, which are about 2 feet long, are fastened together at one end. This end is slipped through a hair rope tied around the waist, and the whole mass of fibers passes between their legs and under the waist string. Plate 25, 4,[1] shows a Yaruro woman wearing one of these girdles. It is fastened in such a way that an enormous knot is formed in the rear, and when wearing their camisole the women have the appearance of sporting large tails.

562 The women on the whole seem to be more conservative than the
291 men in their clothing and body decorations. Below the knees and
301 around the ankles they wear a thin string, and often they have
necklaces of carved asabache figures, which are shown in plate 21.

DELOUSING TOOL

412 An implement that is in great vogue is the delousing tool shown in
515 plate 20, 2. The serrated end is used as a comb to expose the lice,
which are seized between the fingers and crushed between the teeth.
The pointed end is employed to crush blisters raised on the body by
462 mosquito bites. These tools, also fashioned by the men, are used
302 exclusively by the women to groom their menfolk and each other.

CARRYING NETS

482 Carrying nets, of the knotless variety, are woven and used to
286 carry children and food. When carrying children the net is slung
854 across the chest from one shoulder; when carrying food it is sup-
ported by the head.

COOKING

252 The culinary art among the Yaruro is poorly developed. Much
462 of the fruit and the eggs are eaten raw. Fish is eaten half raw and
the meat of the crocodiles and turtles is merely warmed over the fire. Sometimes the meat is boiled. In the afternoon the women who have gathered firewood are to be found in camp waiting patiently for the men. On the hot coals they will have eggs and changuango. If the hunt is successful, and no hunt is considered

[1] [see category 116, and plate 15, --- Analyst]

252 462 successful if the men do not come back with a number of crocodiles, the men build larger fires, upon which the crocodiles are laid. As the hide cracks the animals are split open, the meat is stuck on spits and upon reaching a stage of being warm it is eaten. Contrary to popular
[261] ideas that crocodile eaters only consume the tail, the Yaruro eat the entire animal but stop short at the entrails, which are thrown to the dogs. However, they accuse the neighboring Guahibos of eating the entrails as a special delicacy. Turtle meat and eggs are often boiled.

263 261 Salt is known to these people but it is by no means considered an indispensable condiment in their food. In the only historical reference we have to the Yaruros they are referred to as clay eaters. Today, even though they are in occasional touch with civilized communities,
[317] the salty clay banks are still their only source of supply for salt. The food is generally eaten saltless, since they have no means of purchasing salt from the Racionales and they do not know how to make salt from the clay. As a result, they obtain the amount of salt necessary to life by chewing clay which they pick up in their wanderings over the plains. Food which I prepared with salt was always left untouched by them as being unsavory. In this respect, therefore, they act like the cattle and the deer which can be seen over the plains licking salt clay banks.

STORING OF FOOD

251 The only foods that can be kept for any length of time in the lowland tropics are the roots and seeds. In the rainy season even this is impossible. The Yaruros during the dry season leave caches of changuango on various sandbars. They dig pits into which they place the roots. The hole then is filled and soon the wind will leave no mark indicating that the sand has been disturbed. In some cases where the landmarks are plain, and the Yaruros expect to return in a day or two, no markers are placed anywhere. But if they expect to be delayed, or the sandbar is so large that they might forget the exact spot of the cache, they will thrust a stick into the ground
[151] at some distance away. Apparently by sighting with this stick and some other chosen point, they are able to locate the food store. However, on a number of occasions I saw the Yaruros march to a place on the sands with certitude and excavate changuango. In such cases I saw no markers.

In similar fashion they may store turtle eggs, provided they expect to return within a few hours. Baskets and other objects may also be left in the sand, to be retrieved when they are needed. Asabache, which is found in certain localities, may be gathered in quantities and stored until it is to be used.

251 During the rainy season the seed of the chigua is gathered. It
is crushed, toasted, and stored in small quantities in the same way
as the changuango, provided, of course, that a spot is found high
enough to keep it dry.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS

596 Economically the family hunting group is the basic unit, as has
616 been shown in the previous chapter. In social matters, however, it is
622 the moiety. Each family hunting group recognizes a headman and
791 each moiety recognizes a chief who in all cases is the shaman. Both
554 of these positions of authority are acquired only through personal
merit. There is no inheritance of chieftainship or shamanism. If
the nephew of a headman shows ability he may inherit his uncle's
position, and theoretically this is the scheme. In natural practices
we find that not only the Yaruros but perhaps a great many other
primitive peoples are very realistic and are loath to give authority
to an individual whose personality does not stand for leadership.

Every Yaruro is born in either the "Itciai" or "Puaná" moiety.
616 Descent, with its social affinities, prerogatives, and obligations, being
428 traced through the female line, the child belongs to its mother's
moiety. Nothing is inherited from the father, who belongs to the
other moiety, except obligations.

There is a legend among the Yaruros that two young men not finding
616 any marriageable girls among their own people mated with the
773 Jaguar and with the Snake. From these two unions are descended
the two moieties. Since only among animals do brothers and sisters
mate it has become a rule that two descendants of the Jaguar,
"Itciai", cannot marry with each other; nor can two descendants of
the Snake, "Puaná", marry with each other. They must seek a mate
582 from the other group. Thus an "Itciai" must always marry a
"Puaná", and vice versa. Cross-cousin marriage solves this problem.

In this system, therefore, a man's children belong to his wife's
604 moiety, from which he is socially excluded. His sister's children, on
the other hand, are socially close to him since they too inherit moiety
membership from their mother which is the same as his own. Deprived of his own children to carry on his traditions, a man looks to
his sister's children to take their place. It is his nephews who will
help him in hunting, who will come to his defence, who will take care
of him in old age. As if in payment of such attention he gives them
his daughters in marriage. Thus his sisters' sons become his sons-in-law.

621 Yaruro society is built around the hunting group, which in num-
596 bers is never stable. The hunt and the gathering of food such as
roots and fruits calls for a certain amount of cooperative effort, but

-621 rarely is there need to enlist the services of persons outside the family
596 group for it.

A typical hunting family will consist of the "old man," his wife, their unmarried sons, unmarried and married daughters, their sons-in-law, perhaps an unmarried brother or two, or without a father-in-law with whom to live, the parents-in-law unless they be dead, and the grandchildren, that is, the children of the daughters. To this nucleus there may be attached, temporarily, stragglers from other groups, old people and young children without relatives to take care of them, and visiting children of the man's sisters.

When two hunting groups meet very often they will camp together for a few days. If food is plentiful they may spend some of the time in merrymaking. Those bands which are in touch with the ranchers may gather together to perform a given piece of work for the meager pay that they may receive.

621 In actual practice it is almost impossible for a hunting group to
178 consist of a theoretical family as described. This is especially true now that the Yaruros are disappearing so rapidly. The women may have a series of husbands, as if one dies, or is killed, and the men may have a series of wives. Any genealogical table, therefore, is very confused.

-616 The group of El Burron consisted of the following: Two sisters
621 who had been married to Fauste, a cross-cousin but who was now
-596 dead; one of these women, Agapita, had two daughters, both of whom married. Isabel, one of these daughters, was dead at the time of my visit, but she had two children, a boy and a girl, who were still living. Her sister had married, lost her husband, but had four children, all living. The sister of the old woman, Agapita, had a boy and a girl, both of whom were living with the group. Fauste had a brother and a sister, now very old, and both living with the group. His brother had a daughter, Maria, who was also living with the group. On analysis we find, therefore, that, as the group existed at the time of my visit, there were twelve members of the Puaná moiety and three members of the Itciai moiety (fig. 23).

The other groups met show a greater confusion. So many individuals had died that there was no fixed form for any group. In some cases the groups would consist of several middle-aged men and women with wives and children and in other groups, such as Landa-
601 eta's and Pablo Reyes', they were led by old men—shamans. It is because of the breakdown of the social system under current conditions that the genealogies are not reproduced in this study at this time.

606 This confusion affects the social relationships between various indi-
604 viduals. For instance, one Garcia was married to Landaeta's

606 daughter, but he should have married the daughter of one Juan
604 Bario, who was a parallel cousin of Landaeta, therefore, he actually married not his immediate cross cousin, but his cross cousin once removed. He kept strictly within the cross moiety marriage rule. However, this marriage brought complications in his life, because for all practical purposes he had two fathers-in-law to take care of rather than one. He solved this problem by living with Landaeta, his wife's father, half of the week, and the other half he spent with his uncle,

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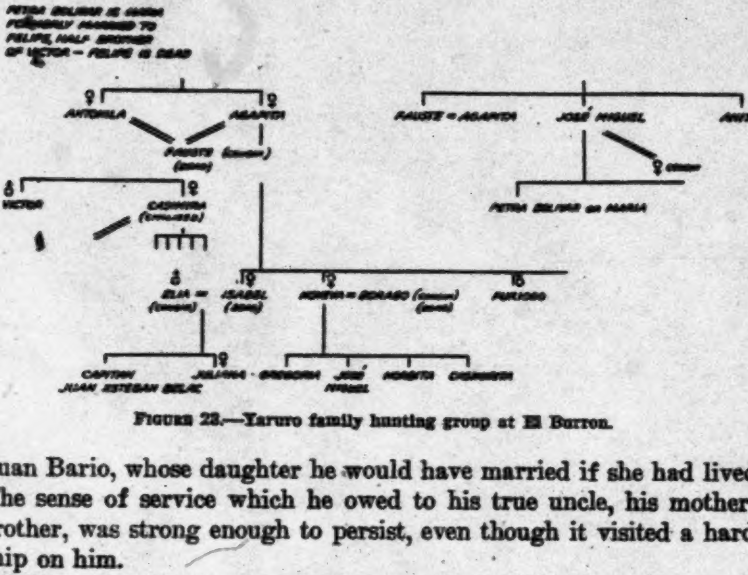

FIGURE 23.—Yaruro family hunting group at El Burron.

606 Juan Bario, whose daughter he would have married if she had lived.
604 The sense of service which he owed to his true uncle, his mother's brother, was strong enough to persist, even though it visited a hardship on him.

616 Within the tribal organization the individual looks to his moiety for guidance, protection, and social intercourse. In return for this
476 he is obligated to members of his moiety in a variety of ways. He acknowledges their affinity to him by seeking their company, by hunting together with them, and by sharing his food with them.

622 In the family hunting group its head is socially a stranger to most
593 of the people around him. Indeed, if he has no sisters or has sis-
626 ters who do not have any sons and has no brothers living with him, then socially he is almost out of place in the family hunting group. His wife, of course, belongs to the opposite moiety, and the children trace their descent through the mother. His wife's mother, sisters, brothers and their children belong to the same moiety
604 as herself. When his own children are old enough to take part in
593 hunting they look to their mother and to her brother, or brothers, for
476 guidance and it is toward the latter that they have all sorts of social obligations. To their father they show respect, but to the mother's

604 brothers they must make offerings of labor and food. In fact as soon
593 as they are old enough to do so, the boys will spend a good portion
476 of their time in the family group of their uncles on their mother's
side. They hunt with him, they help him build his canoes, work for him, and take part in the feasts and ceremonies with him.

593 However, the father is interested in his children, especially when
604 they are young, and treats them with the utmost kindness and they
reciprocate by acknowledging filial respect. Perhaps it was this difference in the attitude between the uncle and the father that led
[14] the missionaries to comment that the Yaruros and the Otomacos
showed no respect for their fathers and often killed them.

601 A Yaruro makes no mistake between those individuals in his group who are related to him biologically and those who are merely related to him socially. For instance, he calls his father "aia" or "aiamái," and he calls his father's brothers by the same word. In fact he distinguishes between the older and the younger brothers of his father, so that he may call his father's elder brother "aiamái otéh," which is translatable into "elder father". He will refer to the younger brother of his father as "aiamái durimé," meaning "younger father." Not only does he call the brothers of his father by the same term as he addresses his own father, but the parallel cousins also are addressed by the same term. Since his own father must show respect to his older brothers, the son assumes the same attitude as his father toward the older members of the family. In the female line, he refers to his mother as "aí" and his mother's sisters as "aí" also, suffixing the term for older and younger as the case may be. The female parallel cousins of his mother are called by the same term.

On the other hand the sisters of the father are addressed as "haí" and the brothers of his mother are addressed as "hademái". It is these classes of individuals whom we can refer to as aunt and uncle.

His brothers he calls "ajimái" or "anyimai" and his sisters "amí". These terms are extended to his parallel cousins both on his father's and mother's side. The children of his father's brothers, and his mother's sisters, he calls "anyiná," if male, and "ani," if female. His cross-cousins he addresses as follows: "keramái", the sons of his mother's brother, which is equivalent to brother-in-law; "nyohé" the daughters of his mother's brother; "avimái", the sons of his father's sister; and "haí haó", the daughters of his father's sister.

There is a striking resemblance between the terms which he employs to indicate his grandchildren and his grandparents. The children of his daughter, if boys, he will refer to as "hiamai," if girls, "hiatokwi." The children of his son, on the other hand, if boys, he will call "hadamai," and if girls "hadatokwi." His grandfather on his father's side he calls "hadaoteh." His grandmother

601 on his father's side he calls "hami." His grandfather on his mother's side is referred to as "hiateh," and his grandmother on his mother's side as "homa." It may be that these terms merely mean, as has been suggested by other authors in discussing relationship terms, "feeble one," the equivalent perhaps of old men and old women in [888] our own language. (Fig. 24.)

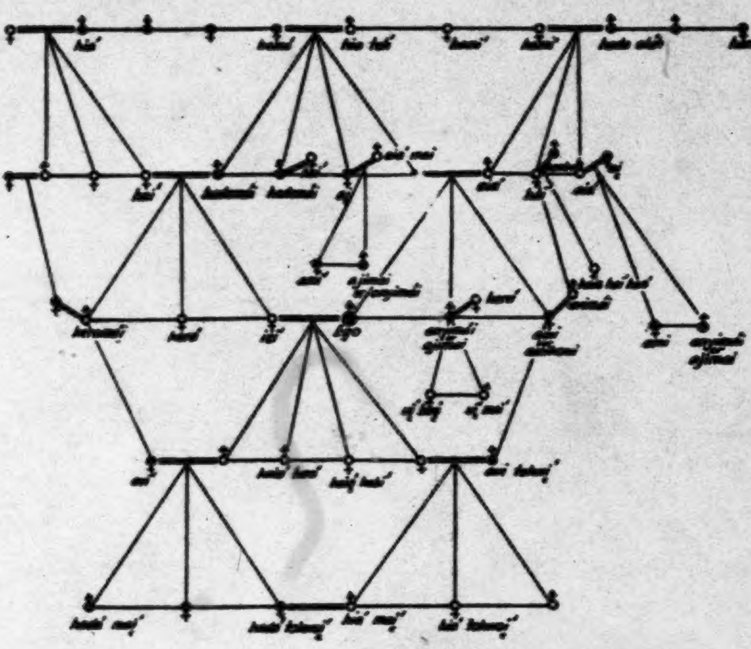

FIGURE 24.—Relationship chart.

Since a boy looks to his maternal uncle for instruction and spends with him a good portion of his time, he is also coming in contact with his future wife, who should be a daughter of one of the brothers of his mother. These female cross cousins he calls "gnohé," which was translated for me as the equivalent of "sweetheart", and his male cross cousins he calls "keramái" (brother-in-law), which is the usual term of address and greeting when a Yaruro meets another belonging to the opposite moiety. When he marries one of these girls, he refers to her as "ieyįtokwį" or "young woman." Later he addresses her as "ieyi kui," which means "my woman". Her sisters whom, before marriage, he called "nyohé" (sweetheart), now he calls and refers to each as "kera." On the part of the girl, before marrying the boy, she calls him "nyowuh," and upon marrying him she refers to him as "oį," meaning "man." His brothers whom before

601 marriage she called also "nyowuh", are referred to as "keramai". The father-in-law calls his son-in-law "haiméma'", which means "the one my daughter married", and the son-in-law calls his father-in-law "huíteh". [606] His mother-in-law, whom he never addresses directly, he refers to as "kaikamúe". The girl refers to her father-in-law as "kuinté". Before marriage the boy would have called his uncle, the brother of his mother, "húidemái".

616 /There do not seem to be any rites or ceremonies from which members of the opposite moiety are excluded. According to my informants, the Puaná clan moiety is preeminent over the Itciai moiety, therefore the person recognized as its head is considered to be the [578] chief of the Yaruros. There is no resentment, as far as I was able to learn, to this arrangement. Primarily, I suppose, because the biological descendants of an individual pass from one moiety to another and therefore share in its prerogatives. The Yaruros' social concepts in respect to moiety membership is best expressed by reciprocal duties, obligations, and prerogatives. Under the elementary local system the son-in-law is almost a guest among his wife's people with whom he goes to live. During the rainy season when more permanent shelters are built, according to my informants, they have more ceremonies, during one of which the unmarried boys of one moiety then sit in the house of the other moiety.\

616 796 791 Although there is no exclusion of the members of the opposite moiety in the ceremonies, if the shaman is of the Puaná moiety, those that sit closest to him are members of his own moiety. But even in this case the other moiety is represented, and in fact indirectly serves him. His own wife sits at his right and it is she who assists him when her help is needed by handing to him the various pieces of his paraphernalia and tobacco. It is she, likewise, who prepares the various drinks. The rest of the members of her moiety, if they happen to be present, take their places following the members of the shaman's moiety.

604 476 When a man is undertaking a hunt or wishes to build a canoe he calls on his nephews, that is, his sister's sons, for help, and they are obligated to be at his service. This obligation and service, which begins as soon as the boy begins to understand his position in the society, lasts a lifetime. When the uncle or uncles become too feeble to hunt for themselves it is these nephews who supply them with food and everything else they may need. This service may be interpreted as compensation to the uncles for their daughters who become the wives of these youths. But there was no indication that it was so considered by the Yaruro.

593 604 h. A man, therefore, does not have the services nor the social life of his children, but has to look to his sister's womb for individuals to educate and to assist him.

603 604 educate and to assist him. However, his grandchildren belong to his own moiety and the children of his daughters will be born in this camp and will live with him until the boys are old enough to seek wives in the other moiety. The bonds linking these nephews, uncles, grandparents, and grandchildren are morally strong and perhaps it explains why Kuma herself is thought of as being the grandmother of Hatchawa, rather than the mother. Several myths illustrate this uncle, nephew, grandfather, and grandchild relationship. It is curious to note that occasionally the uncle in these myths plays tricks on the nephew and may even be represented as being exceedingly wicked, but the grandfather is always benevolent.

[591] The children of a man's sons are brought up in a different hunting group, since the boys will live with their wives' groups, and although these grandchildren belong to the same moiety, the old man's contact with them is rather limited. It is different with the children of his daughter.

182 582 The basis of Yaruro social organization is cross-cousin marriage. Each hunting group tends to consist of one family and other groups hunting nearby are probably closely related to it. The chance of a member of one group meeting members of a group hunting far away from his hunting grounds would be quite insignificant. It would appear, therefore, that a Yaruro man would have the option to marry [184] his sister's, cousins, aunts, grandchildren, and grandparents. Of these it is considered incest to marry his sisters, his mother, and the sisters of his mother, whom he calls mother also, the children of his father's brothers, whom he calls father, and the children of his mother's sisters, whom he calls sister also. The only two classes of women whom he can legitimately marry are the daughters of his mother's brothers and the daughters of his father's sisters. The latter, how- [616] ever, belong to the same moiety as himself and are therefore excluded. His choice is restricted to the daughters of his mother's sisters.

However, a number of factors may enter to allow a man a wife other than his cross cousins on his mother's side, and in fact in some cases he is forced to marry others than his cross cousins on his mother's side, who may not be available. Theoretically he may marry any of the following: His father's sisters, his father's mother's sisters, his daughters' daughters, his wife's sisters, his wife's mother's sisters, and his wife's mother's mother and her sisters. We find in actual practice that this is done. At Landaeta there was one young man married to a woman of about 40 whom we would call his aunt-in-law, that is, his wife's mother's sister.

587 This class of women whom he is allowed to marry he is also obligated to look after should their husbands die. For instance, should

587 any of his brothers die he falls heir to the brother's wife or wives, who may be sisters or sisters of his own wife; likewise, should his mother's brother die his wife or wives, who is one of the group of his wife's mother's sister, would also become his wife. This system can be
582 made plainer by examining figure 24. By following the moiety relationship one can see just whom the individual is allowed to marry. If it is considered that any of these individuals may actually become his wife, either because there are no other women of his own age group available, or because they have lost their own husbands, and therefore need a protector, the system becomes clear.

IN-LAW RELATIONS

—[591] Cross-cousin marriage being the prevalent type, it means that the son of a man's sister will marry his daughter and come to live with
606 him. As soon as that happens a number of social taboos are imposed on the in-laws. The son-in-law from the time that he marries is prohibited from speaking to his mother-in-law, although he lives with the same hunting group and may even travel in the same canoe with her; he cannot eat before her or even near her; he cannot go close to her, even though his bows and arrows may be lying there; he cannot hand her any object; he cannot make his personal toilet in front of her; he cannot sing or dance close to her; he cannot travel alone with his mother-in-law, and if they are forced to travel together in a canoe with the wife of the son-in-law as one of the party, he takes his position in the bow and the mother-in-law sits in the stern. These taboos are reciprocal. If the two meet in a path they turn aside and go in opposite directions.

These taboos are the more remarkable since there are positive duties owed one in-law to the other. The son-in-law is obligated to supply food and protection to his mother-in-law. It is his duty to prepare firewood and bring her materials which she may need to make basketry. It is expected that he will gather delicacies for her, such as honey. On the other hand, his mother-in-law will often prepare food for her son-in-law, will make pouches for him, and show him favors in other ways. But these favors must be transmitted through the wife and daughter, or through other persons. In camp I have seen mother-in-law and son-in-law sitting with backs to each other hour after hour, day after day, never exchanging a word, always averting their eyes from the other's person.

Similar taboos are practiced between the father-in-law and daughter-in-law, but because the girl lives with her parents they weigh less heavily upon her and her father-in-law, since they rarely
[835] meet. The taboos, though, are more strictly observed, probably on account of the sexual temptation.

INHERITANCE OF WIVES

583 Monogamy is the usual rule, but occasionally both polygyny and polyandry exist. If no women are available, a man may share his young wife with his brother or parallel cousin whom he calls brother also. I saw two such cases. In a tribe whose total membership may not exceed 150 such situations may easily arise.

587 589 [616] The more common situation is the inheritance of wives. If a man dies, his wife may be taken care of by her father, but more often by her former husband's brother. She takes her place as wife number two, especially if he is a good hunter. Other women whom a man may inherit as wives are his aunts on his father's side and even his paternal grandmother. I saw one case in which a man had inherited his daughter's child. Whether these cases represent the results of deculturation of the Yaruros in recent years, or pure necessity, it is impossible to say. It is worth noting that the taboo on marrying a member of one's moiety is strictly observed.

512 605 Another relationship common among South American Indians which is present among the Yaruros is the hunting friendship between two men. Seldom does one meet a young Yaruro who does not have a hunting companion. Upon marriage this relationship may be weakened, though often the companionship persists. Generally the men are two parallel cousins. They show much affection toward each other, even in camp. For instance, such a pair standing with arms around each other's necks is a common sight. I have no reason to suspect any abnormal sexual relations between such couples.

124 582 [165] An attempt was made to collect genealogies, but no satisfactory results were obtained, due to the confusion that exists among the Yaruros. So many have suffered premature death, especially men, that the genealogies show a tremendous complexity. This complexity exists, of course, only for us. The Yaruro has his system, which is to guard against incest as he defines it. So long as members of the same moiety do not marry, everything else is permissible. One's cross cousin of the same, or nearly the same, age is the preferential choice, but the Yaruros cannot control birth and death, so that the preference is purely theoretical. I saw young boys married to old women and young girls married to old men. The answer was that there weren't any others to marry.

However, enough was gathered from the genealogies to verify the system as described: Members of the same moiety do not marry. Every one else can, except father and daughter, and, of course, father's brothers and daughter, whom she addresses as father anyway.

Life Cycle

BIRTH

842 773 Biological conception is clearly understood. One of the myths tells of Kuma's desire to have a child. She asked Puaná to impregnate her in the thumb, but Puaná, who in these myths appears both as trickster and wise man, told her that such impregnation would result in an overpopulation and advised her to allow herself to be impregnated in the ordinary way. She allowed herself to be persuaded, and Hatchawa was born. It may be worth noting that though Hatchawa was the issue, he is referred to as the grandson of Kuma. Whether this inconsistency is to us merely an unexplainable situation, or whether it has greater significance, I was not able to find out.

844 846 616 262 When delivery is imminent a shelter is built for the prospective mother, apart from all other people. Her husband's moiety brothers build a similar structure for him also apart from the camp. The woman is tended by the women of her family and moiety and the husband by the men belonging to his moiety. Both abstain from eating fish, turtle, and crocodile. Iguana and deer meat and the usual vegetable diet are allowed. During delivery and for 10 days after the husband lies in a hammock and engages in no physical activity. Ordinarily he would sleep on the ground. His moiety brothers bring him food. After 10 days he visits his wife but continues to live alone and apart for a month. Now he hunts in the company of other men and is expected to supply his wife with food. The food taboos continue in effect for the full month for both husband and wife. Strict continence is practiced by the husband. When the month is over the family is reunited.

MENSTRUATION

152 841 The Yaruro's actual attitude toward menstruation is not one of fear or wonder. The phenomenon is accepted much as it is among us, as a disturbing but unavoidable event. In the literature on primitive peoples it is often reported that menstruation is held to be a dangerous period for the woman and for the people. One may question the correctness of this observation, if observation it be, with the suspicion that because certain taboos are observed fear is the motivating response. I have found the observance of taboos among a dozen South American tribes with whom I have had personal contact but there has been no indication of actual fear. One wonders if such events have not been too highly dramatized and rationalized by the civilized visitor rather than by the primitives.

841 Among the Yaruros the first period in a girl calls for special treatment at the hands of the women. The girl's face is covered with a

841 piece of cloth. (Among the peoples of the Xingu in Brazil she is
made to wear her hair over her face, and she is kept from the sight
123 of men.) Whether during this period special initiatory rites are
841 performed I was not able to find out. This part of Yaruro culture
is considered to be in the women's domain, and, being a man, I was
kept from delving into it.

MARRIAGE

527 The Yaruros are poor in social ceremonies. Anciently they may have practiced a great many of them but today social life is comparatively simple.

When a boy is ready to marry he may approach his father, or as
885 a matter of fact, the father may approach the son. In any case he is
791 sent to the shaman, who informs him that now he should be ready
584 to assume the duties of a man, and proceeds to instruct him in the
nature of those duties. He is told that he must love and cherish his
[183] wife; supply her plentifully with food, clothing, ornaments, and
children; that he must never use harsh words toward her and that
[577] he must take care of her when she is sick; that he must never quarrel
with her family, with whom he is expected to live; and of particular
importance, that he must remember to take care of his father-in-law
and mother-in-law. All of this is ordained by Kuma.

584 The shaman will then approach the boy's uncle who has a marriageable
585 daughter. No special ceremony seems to take place. The boy
791 simply goes to live with the wife's family and assumes his duties of
taking care of her as well as of his parents-in-law.

SICKNESS AND DEATH

751. Not much material was available on sickness. It must be remembered
757 that the Yaruros have been in contact with European ideas
for several centuries and that they understand the use of medicine for
the cure of a specific illness.

753 Nevertheless, Kiberoh, the evil night spirit, is in some fashion associated
757 with illness. If Kiberoh enters the body of a person, the latter
will become ill. In such cases the only cure is the intercession of
Kuma, who can be called upon to help by the shaman or musico, a
term adapted from the Spanish to describe the singing shaman.

755 The sick person is laid on the ground with his head pointing to the
east. At sundown the shaman will stand to the north of the sick
person and will proceed to sing, accompanying himself with the
[841] rattle. The rest of the people, with the exception of any woman in
her menstrual period, line up behind the shaman and sing and dance
as they generally do during any of the shamanistic performances.
If they indulge in any dancing, however, they do not go around a

755 pole in a circle but merely move forward and backward. During
the performance it is prohibited for anyone to pass by the head of
the sick person. The shaman will sing all night and if by morning
462 the sick person has not shown any marked improvement the woman
755 shaman will lie in a hammock with her head pointing to the east
and will continue the singing. Other women will sit in the hammock
with her and sing all day long. I myself underwent such attention.
[593] If the wife shows little interest in the welfare of her husband it is
concrete proof that she does not love him and it is believed he will
die. In this there are two factors to be considered from my observation of these people. The first is that a lack of wifely interest is
the equivalent of bad medicine and that the husband himself will feel
so disconsolate that all desire to live will be lost.

763 If the sick person dies during the night nothing is done except to
stop the singing and dancing. At daybreak his people will drink
vast quantities of chica and prepare for the funeral rites. If the
756 sick person happens to be a woman in her menstrual period it is
[841 important to note that she is in the care of the woman shaman. The
man shaman does not dare to sing to her.

764 In the morning the dead person is washed by the women and the
body is wrapped in a hammock and taken to the burial place. The
brothers and the uncles carry the body. The father and mother do
not accompany the body to the grave, but in the case of a married man
the widow does. The body is interred in the hammock with the head
pointing to the east. The bow and arrows, whatever clothing he may
have possessed, and any equipment are buried with him, but neither
765 food nor water is necessary. The night after the burial there is a
775 feast in the camp, but the taboo on fish is observed by everyone. The
shaman and the people will sing the equivalent of:

> [539] The dead one died here, now he has arrived in the Land of Kuma, and there he has been made young again (if a child dies, it becomes a young man or woman, according to the sex). He will know nothing but joy now and will have everything he may desire.

The widow goes on a strict diet for four days. All fires which
were burning at the time of the death of the individual are put out
and fresh ones are built. On the fourth day the two men, who have
put the dead body into the pit, and the widow, bathe; they fast on the
[787] fifth. On the fifth night the shaman sings in order to find out if the
dead person has reached Kuma, if he has been given a new name, if he
has been made young, strong, and rich. For a month after this the
589 widow keeps a strict diet and she is not married for a long time. It is
believed that if a man marries a widow soon after her husband has
died he will die soon of the same sickness.

LIFE AFTER DEATH

761 —775 To the modern Yaruro death is a desirable event. It holds great promise rather than terror for him. He believes that the dead will continue to live in the Land of Kuma. That is, in the land of the Mother Goddess, where he will be restored to a life of pristine happiness in the world which is identical with that which existed before the coming of the white man. In that world, in the Land of Kuma, he will have freedom to hunt if he pleases, he will have an abundance of food, he will have horses, cattle, and tobacco. He will lead a life of eternal bliss, watching over the affairs of his relatives and descendants on this earth, visiting them occasionally through the shaman and conversing with them. Apparently his only wish is that his people will die and join him in the Land of Kuma at the earliest possible time. A better idea of this life after death can be obtained by turning to the chapters on the shamanistic performances and legends.

PLAY

522 152 — The spirit of play is known to the Yaruros. In fact, they laugh so much and so often that one might get the impression that they take life very lightly. For instance, their response to any accident is laughter. A man may fall out of his canoe or hurt himself in some way, or a woman may break a pot; any such accident is taken as a fine joke by everyone else.

616 606 There is inner-moiety and joking relationship, but members of one moiety do not play pranks on members of the other moiety. In fact, even in camp the mother-in-law will keep aloof from any levity engaged in by the son-in-law, and vice versa.

533 535 524 In the dancing and singing there is gaiety, especially when Puaná visits his people. Then is a time for much laughter and joking. However, there is no formalized play among the Yaruros. Anciently it is reported that the Otomacos had a ball game. Gilii has given us a description of it.[9]

857 —462 861 The most common form of play among the children is an imitation of the activities of the grown-ups. The little boys will pretend that they are hunting and fishing or canoeing; the little girls will pretend that they are making pottery, basketry, or painting their bodies. The toys which the children use are miniature implements of hunting
524 and food gathering. The only objects made differently for children
323 to play with which are not an imitation of anything used by the
532 adults are small clay figures representing human beings. These are arranged by the child in imitation of human beings dancing around

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[9] If the Yaruros knew this ball game they have forgotten it since then.

524 a pole. In general, therefore, organized play for child or adult is
323 hardly present.
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WAR

726 The Yaruros did not speak much of war. None of their legends
173 make any reference to it except in one case which says that they
175 were killed by the "Racionales" and that they retaliated.[6] The known historical sources say nothing except Father Gumilla's account, which makes reference to the pacification of the "Saruri."

MORAL ATTITUDES

183 On the subject of conduct, the outlook on life and the organi-
577 zation of life values, we must distinguish between theory and practice. The former grows out of reflection and represents the intellectualization of the universe as seen without much reference to practical life. The second springs from the social and economic relationships and the fusing of individual ends and purposes into the purposes and ends of the group, whereas the first is not strictly controlled by custom and practical needs. Both exist among the
[791] Yaruros. For the first we have to turn to the shaman, who in addition to being a religious leader, a savant, is also a moralist; and for the second we turn to the entire social group and need to watch it in its behavior.

175 In reading over the early account of the aborigines of the region,
171 among which we must presumably include Yaruros, we gather that
114 their moral concepts were different from those of the Christians, but perhaps neither better nor worse in practice. It must be doubted, however, whether a number of practices attributed to the Yaruros are authentic. We read, for instance, that a number of the aborigines were patricides, and we are given a picture of the male children, on reaching adolescence, rising against the fathers
[682] through lust for the mother. Patricide is an abhorrent crime and
[683] the motive behind it is equally abhorrent. It is to be doubted whether patricide, or even lesser acts, such as beating the father, were ever practiced, except in sporadic cases such as may occur in
[684] any society. It hardly seems possible that women were the cause of it when it is known, as it is known today, that mating and extramarital relationships are very strictly controlled by tradition and social training. Disregarding, therefore, such allusions to the moral life of the primitive peoples of the Orinoco, let us turn to our in-
000 formants for an understanding of their present mode of life. The

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[6] It would appear probable that the nomadic Yaruros were too weak to ever develop any warlike spirit.

577 The first fact that holds our attention is that Yaruros are strongly ethically
791 conscious. Every shamanistic performance is the means for the
771 propagation of ethical teachings. The shaman, or as the Yaruros
believe, the gods and their dead ancestors speaking through the shaman, admonish various individuals and lay down the law for proper conduct. They hold the threat also that misconduct will be displeasing to the mother goddess and as a result life with her will not be as pleasant as it would be if they followed her precepts in this world.

771 According to the Yaruro philosophy the world is, by its nature,
good and it was created by Kuma as a good thing. If any evil
812 exists it has been introduced by men, who have forgotten or come to disregard the laws laid down by the goddess. The world, if unsullied by men, is a perfect integration of the elements which function for the good of mankind. Unfortunately, at times men will disturb the structure. There is implied in this the existence of free will for mankind, since it can change or disturb what was created by Kuma. And if we have recourse to the legends, we find that perhaps the lower animals have free will also, although it is exercised by them much more rarely than by mankind.

776 Kuma appears also as the teacher of ethical laws. She told the
577 people, told Hatchawa, and now tells the shamans: to live in peace
with each other; to respect each other; to help each other; to live
626 good lives; to take care of the parents-in-law and the children-in law. When the wife is ill or otherwise the mother-in-law should look after the needs of her son-in-law, although they do not speak to each other. The Yaruros will find recompense for such moral living after death. They are poor on this earth but will be rich like Kuma in the other world.

609 During my stay the women remained bashful, never speaking directly to me, and when I approached generally looking away. In the latter days they would laugh merrily as they fled. Their culture does not permit free social intercourse with men, but any request on my part relayed to them through their husbands or brothers was eagerly complied with, and with better than good humor.

578 All were helpful toward each other and there did not appear to be
any dissension. Extreme care was taken that a person's rights
593 and prerogatives were not infringed upon. The husband never seemed to request anything of his wife that did not lie in her province, and when strange demands were made to please me, entire freedom was given to the wife, or daughter, to do as it pleased her.
152 Any misfortune, however slight or serious, that would produce some expression of anger among white people was met by the Yaruros
000 with merry laughter. At night each family group lay on the sands

At night each family group lay on the sands
521 talking a little, laughing a little. I made it a custom of visiting every night, and usually the men gathered around. The women, keeping in the background, made all sorts of inquiries concerning my country and people, but always through the men.

831 One cannot live on intimate terms with a group of people a weak
without learning something of their sexual attitudes. Only too often
123 is this factor dangled in front of him, so that if he were to base his
report on recurrent experiences and situations it would be largely
made up of sex and sex problems. However, the sexual element is
strongly present, but it is in normal cases a simple matter.

121 A simple matter but of exceeding importance if we are to believe the psychologists. Basic to life, and to social organization, the attitude toward it has its effect on the life of the individual and on the culture, but equal the make-up of the indidivual and the culture produces the sexual attitude.

836 To begin with, this writer does not know anything about the sexual
development of Yaruro boy or girl. He does not know what secret
sexual play the children may indulge in, nor does he know whether
the unmarried girl has any sexual relations. He thinks that the un-
838 married do. He also thinks that there is some kind of homosexuality
among the boys, and even the men. The following is based on what
he observed, heard, and saw without any undue prying about.

857 The sexes are kept apart from infancy. A baby girl is launched
into her future career as a woman almost from birth. She is the
855 special care of the mother and women folk. When she is able to play
593 she plays alone, with other girls, or with the women. She never
plays with the boys. When she is able to work she helps her mother,
never her father nor her elder brothers. She may be helped in her
work by her brother.

593 It is impossible to claim that the attachment is stronger between the mother and children than between the father and daughter. It would be necessary to investigate the problem from the psychological point of view. But such is the case socially and economically.

The maternal uncle does to a certain degree substitute for the father, but this substitution is formal and social.

867 From babyhood the child learns his relationship to those about
602 him. One woman is its mother. She it is who gives suck, holds, etc.
Later he learns that he must call other women mother also. These
are the sisters of his true mother. One man he learns to call father.
This man is the one who is most with his mother, in whose canoe
602 they travel, etc. Other men he calls father also, the brothers of his
true father. Thus relationships are defined sexually, familiarly, and
formally. In respect to girls of his own age he learns that some he
calls sisters and others by terms whose equivalent may be rendered

602 "sweetheart", "potential wife". At any rate, the boy learns that
[582 members of the former class he can not marry, and that one, a particular one of the second class, will become his wife. Thus on those who stand in the familiar relationship he cannot cast sexual thoughts.

836 Intersexual activity before marriage was not observable and it seemed as if there would be little opportunity for it. Boys and girls are kept separate, the girls staying with their mothers, the boys with the men. At night there seemed to be the same division.

854 During infancy there is no organized play for the girl. Her parents do not play as we are wont to do. She is not teased into
861 laughter, but tender care is given to her. She is fed, cleaned, kept in
[855] the shade, and made to wear ornaments. Dolls of clay may be made for her. During this period she is taken everywhere by the mother. From babyhood she participates in the collection of food, in its preparation and cooking, in the making of basketry, pottery, making and breaking camp, traveling in canoes, but always with her mother.
868 Gradually she learns to take a more active part in the female tasks. The important point is that the proper decorum for her is to keep to members of her own sex. She does not become a tomboy. If she learns to perform tasks it is only because the women are supposed to have a smattering of them anyhow. Paddling is one of these.

854 The boy's life is first shared with his mother, and although fondled
593 by the father, he remains with the mother until he is able to walk and paddle. Thus, whereas the girl never comes under the direct influence of her father, the boy is under the direct influence of the mother during his infancy and babyhood. Gradually he participates more and more in manly tasks, but as a matter of fact he never entirely disassociates himself from his mother. As long as he is unmarried he performs tasks for his mother and she takes care of him, performing such acts as cooking, delousing, etc. He gathers wood, lights fires, etc.

864 The children are not kept in sexual ignorance. At least the boys
831 seem to learn something of the sexual functions at an early age. From what I observed of Yaruro camp life, it seems that no attempt was made to keep knowledge of sex and sexual functions away from the children. In the first place, there is no sense of modesty so far as the sexual parts are concerned, and therefore there is no ignorance on the part of the children. There is very little, if any, sexual play among the adults during the day. Since the attitude toward the sexual parts of the body is one of indifference there is very little that may happen which would indicate any interest in those parts. Any knowledge that the children may have of sex must, therefore, be gathered from observation of their parents.

864 Even if there were stronger interest in sex than seemed to exist, there
831 would be little opportunity for the youngsters to indulge in any sex-
857 ual relations, since their playmates tend to be parallel cousins and
very often playmates are lacking altogether. In the small hunting
groups often there may be only one or two unmarried young people.
Under such conditions a boy would either have to seek sex relations
with one of his moiety sisters or practice adultery with a woman of
[584] the opposite moiety living with his own hunting group. We may
presume that neither incest nor adultery are unknown to the Yaru-
ros. During my stay among them there was no evidence of that.

582 Another factor which tends to help the Yaruros live a strictly
881 moral life is that upon reaching puberty both boys and girls marry
if a mate is available, even though the wife or husband may be con-
siderably older. Premarital romantic love life may be entirely absent
831 on this account, but one suspects that another type of romanticism
593 may be built on what is available. For instance, practically from
babyhood the boy or girl knows whom he or she will marry and in
waiting for the promised day one would suspect an emotional attitude
is built up. It is certain that after marriage strong bonds of affec-
tion are developed between husband and wife. Strictly limited in
choice, there can be no free play for one's desires.

548 In the Yaruro society prostitution is probably absent. I believe
177 that today some degree of prostitution has been forced upon them by
the peoples with whom they come in contact. Perhaps we should call
it purchasing of sexual rights, with the Yaruros playing a docile if
not hostile part. After all, they are forced to acquiesce in a great
many practices foreign to their ideas.

831 The above is the sexual ambient. As a result the adults act in the following manner. Sexual intercourse is considered one of the numerous natural acts. It is not exaggerated, little talked or joked about, and judging from the sort of life they lead not over indulged in.

[522] Among the men, woman is not discussed. Neither virtue nor sin is the subject of comment. She is let strictly alone and uncensored. Obscenity is rare.

x 838 If any homosexuality exists it must be established by inference.
It is common among the hunting tribes for a man to have a com-
572 panion with whom he hunts, travels, and with whom he spends most
of his time. Such companionship seems to be closer before marriage
than after.

I have observed two boys, unmarried because no girls were available, engaged in such acts as we are accustomed to impute to love making—holding hands, etc. Yet, lest we jump at hasty conclusions, it must be said that affection between men is demonstrated much more so than

838 among ourselves. Also, it is true that these acts are never to be seen
572 between man and woman. For instance, I remember young men loafing at my camp with their arm around each other's necks, and even clasped in a tight embrace face to face in each other's arms, though standing up. I never observed any physical sexual excitement, though.

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

861 There is no direct and organized teaching of the children. They learn from example and from the precepts laid down by the adults in
858 discussions, generally held at night. Certainly the child is not made to feel that he is the center of attraction; rather he is tolerated, though watched with fond eyes by the adults. The children are never admonished to do this or that or negatively. It may be said that they are put into a pattern of behavior, and the bonds of this pattern are indeed close and strong. There is no breaking them as long as life lasts. It must not be thought that these bonds are felt and
181 that there is resentment toward them. The Yaruro is in a sense tremen-
156 dously individualistic, in that each individual is forced to depend on his own resources, but when it comes to group life he is merely a part of the whole.

861 The children are free to play, but from infancy they also share in the adult activities. A mother may make a basket, with the little
851 daughter constantly beside her. As soon as the child is able she will help in the digging of roots, or placing them in the basket, or will help in the making of a basket, or the cooking, her share of the work gradually increasing as she grows older. However, a child is never told to do any work, but does so entirely imitatory of the adults and the older children, with complete freedom as well as free desire.

The boy in like manner imitates the older boys and the men. His games consist of constant practice with bow and arrow, but this play is done only in the late afternoon and in the evening. During the day, as soon as the child is able to do so it will accompany the mother or father in hunting for food, doing its share of the paddling, loading and unloading of the canoe, helping to carry the food, taking care of the dogs, and watching and trying to make bows and arrows, string, etc.

GROOMING

Yerkes writes of grooming as follows:

> 182 Grooming is used in this report to designate a pattern of social behavior
> 515 whose essential features are visual examination, search and manipulation of the skin and hair of a companion with fingers and lips, removal of dirt, dandruff, scabs, parasites, and other extraneous materials, and their conveyance to the mouth of the groomer, whose lips, tongue, and jaws meanwhile may have

182 515 been in motion, with sound production, as if in anticipation of something to be swallowed. Commonly, swallowing ensues, if the object is not disagreeable. Such behavior is conspicuous in chimpanzee, which for purposes of comparison will be used in this report as type. Such familiar expressions as fleapicking, hairdressing, skintreatment, toiletmaking, frequently are used to refer to forms or aspects of the pattern of primate behavior which has been described.

Grooming is a biological habit, and like all such habits can either be perpetuated by a culture or smothered, "repressed". Among the very primitive peoples of South America I have seen habits that approximate the definition given by Yerkes. Delousing is the most common form. The lice are generally picked off and crushed between the teeth. Ticks that cover one in great numbers are likewise taken off. In this the subject of the attention generally sits very quietly, while the performer acts with evident pleasure. He or she may talk and jest much more than the subject.

515 Among the Yaruros the most common forms of social grooming are the removal of lice, ticks, and the crushing of insect-bite blisters. For this latter function carved sticks are used. One end of it is used to search for the lice and to crush them and the other end is used for the blisters. This attention is generally given by the mothers to the children and the wives to their husbands, generally on the return from the day's hunt. I myself have been the recipient of such attention from Yaruro women. Not having a wife of my own, my sisters by courtesy, or adoption, took care of my body.

182 515 It is difficult to say that the talk, jesting, smiles, that accompany these attentions are a result of the biological instinct. I am inclined to think that the culture pattern is here at work with its attendant repressions. For instance, often I have seen grimaces on the faces of the performer, the subject, and even of those standing about when a louse is crushed or a blister is broken. Is this a purely biological reaction or does it follow the pattern of conduct? Even primitive peoples are slaves to culture.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

THE YARURO WORLD

185 775 Uppermost in the Yaruro consciousness is their conviction that they are faced with extinction—that Kuma exists and that she is waiting for them in her land. It was easy to prevail upon my informants to talk about Kuma and the world to which they will go upon dying. The other phases of their beliefs were difficult to bring to their attention, for the Yaruro life in this world has practically ceased. As a group, the desire to live and to continue has died. They see the hopelessness of any struggle to preserve their traditional

185 775 culture or themselves against a superior culture and ruthless "civilized" bandits. Their only consolation is Kuma and the Land of Kuma.

781 Nevertheless, being realists they not only continue their daily ac-
821 tivities of hunting and gathering foods, but also in finding daily sol-
ace through their environment and the shamanistic contact with
Kuma. The Yaruro is nature conscious. Perhaps his lonely exist-
ence has made him ecstatically responsible to the world about him,
for often they talked of the beauty of various phenomena; but
stronger than any such feeling is their sense of intimate relationship
with the sun, the moon, the stars, their animal life. The falling stars
at night are interpreted by them to be messengers sent by Kuma
to encourage her people, the Yaruros; the moon is friendly, and on
moonless nights the stars represent the crowds of their ancestors
825 who live with Kuma. The wind blows incessantly and it blows to
them the roar of the araguatos (the howlers), which, to them, rep-
resent distant relatives once human beings, but changed into monkeys
by life in the trees at the time of the great flood; the toninos, frolick-
ing at night in the water, are also another race who failed to climb
the rope which Hatchawa let down to bring his people to the surface.
It is in such a friendly world that the Yaruro literally sits, listens,
154 and looks, almost communing with his environment. Perhaps it is
not out of place to mention at this point that this reaction on the part
of the Yaruros is not difficult to understand, that perhaps we ought
not to rationalize this attitude of the Yaruro entirely on the basis of
superstition or religious ideas; anyone who has lived on the plains,
exposed day and night to nature, soon loses any feeling of lonesome-
ness. This response on the part of the Yaruros is shared by the
llaneros, who do not seem to be so perfectly at ease as when they are
alone in the plains.

THE YARURO UNIVERSE

772 According to the Yaruros the world has experienced a series of metamorphoses. Some of the events which have transformed the world from its original form are attributed to the direct intervention of the various gods and races of mankind, but others remain unexplainable.

772 177 How much of Yaruro cosmic ideas have been borrowed from the missionaries it is difficult to say at this point. Missionaries have been among them from time to time but the Yaruros have been abandoned so completely so many times that the result and confusion is difficult if not impossible to unravel—a thing which can be done only when we have thorough descriptive studies of the various tribes of the Columbian plains and the tribes of Guiana. The comparative ma-

772 terial existing in the literature at the present time is too scant to give
177 us much of a lead. For the Llanos of Venezuela we have only the
missionaries' accounts of the middle of the eighteenth century,
meager accounts at best, and highly colored by the ideas of the
175 missionaries themselves. But even these give us no idea as to how the
Yaruros thought and behaved in those days. They give us notes only
on the Otomacos and the Saliva. Perhaps material exists in
unpublished form, but it must remain unknown for the purpose of the study.

773 In the mythology and in the shamanistic cult a number of figures
stand out: Kuma, the mother goddess; Puaná, the great snake;
Hatchawa, the culture hero; and Itciai, the jaguar. A more obscure
figure is Kiberoh, who seems to be identified with a female evil spirit,
but in one legend appears as the mate of Kuma. And an even
more confused figure is India Rosa. It is known that the patron
saint of the early Spaniards was Santa Rosa de Lima. If India
Rosa is to be identified with Santa Rosa among the Yaruros, only
the name has persisted. The confusion will become evident on
reading the text.

773 The creation legend exists in various forms, but which of them
represents the purely aboriginal one it is difficult if not impossible to
177 determine. It seems best to give all versions. The myth of the flood
appears also, and whether or not this is a foreign element in Yaruro
mythology cannot be determined at this time. Of great interest to us
are the ethical elements present in these stories. In the legend of the
impregnation of Kuma, presumably by Puaná, the water snake, one
may see a parallel to the story of Eve and the Serpent. Be that as
it may, Puaná the Snake, Itciai the Jaguar, Kuma the Mother
Goddess, and Hatchawa, the culture hero, are living spiritual forces
among the Yaruros today, godheads who visit the Yaruro frequently
during shamanistic performances and speak to the Yaruros through
the mouth of the shaman. It would be too much to expect that all our
facts should fit together into a logical pattern. The legendary world
is never a well-ordered one and it speaks for the genuineness of Yaruro
culture that we find such complex.

773 It will be noted that Kuma is definitely the Mother Goddess who
gave birth to Hatchawa and to human beings. The latter were found
by Hatchawa living under the ground. Hatchawa is always the
culture hero. It is he who takes compassion on humanity and gives the
fire, the bow and the arrow, and presumably a great many other
things. Puaná, the Water Snake, is not only the shaper of the earth,
but it is he who is given credit for great wisdom. Itciai, on the other
hand, plays a very small role. In our legends he appears as a shaper
or creator of the waters but plays no other part. But perhaps this
[216] obscurity of Itciai is to be attributed to the fact that my informants
belong to the Puaná moiety.

781 Of great importance is the fact that the Yaruros live in a world which they understand perfectly. At night they watch the heavens for signs from their gods. Each night they read a new chapter in a great story book. During the day the winds, the skies, the sun, have much to tell them, and they watch and listen eagerly. Their world is not one of fear but one which, as created by Kuma, is excessively friendly and hopeful. Terror has been introduced by the white man.

771 For every species of plant and animal life a gigantic counterpart
exists in the Land of Kuma. Originally the plants and animals,
which have been domesticated by the white man, were given to the
Yaruros, but the size of the horse and cattle frightened the Yaruros
so much that they refused to mount one or tame the other. The
white man seized the opportunity which has since made him master
of the Yaruro country. However, they have no explanation for the
186 superiority of the white race except sheer wickedness. This superior-
776 ity is so startling sometimes that the Yaruros feel that the white man
in some way must be closely affiliated with gods, good or bad. The
appearance of the white man on the plains of Apure is a legendary
event. A white man, the Yaruros say, appeared on a huge horse. He
was covered with foul sores and destroyed everything in his path.
The Yaruros are content to hunt and cultivate the soil. The result
is that the civilized peoples raise crops, store them, but the Yaruros
are condemned to wander about hunting for a daily dinner.

825 Many of the animal species, natural formations and constellations are to the Yaruros metamorphosed races of man. One explanation for the monkeys, especially the araguatos (the howlers), is that they are the descendants of a group of people who, to save themselves, climbed to the top of a tree during the time of the flood. The caymans represent another race of men who failed to take advantage of Hatchawa's rope to be lifted out of the hole in the ground. The toninos also are a race of metamorphosed humans.

186 773 The Yaruro, according to their conception of mankind, were Kuma's chosen people. They were created first of all the Indian tribes and that is why they were given the open plains to live in with an open sky overhead so that they might be in close touch with Kuma day and night. The Guahibos, on the other hand, or as the Yaruros called them, the Tciricoi, the forest people, were created last and occupy an inferior position.

776 774 In addition to playing a purely religious role, the gods function as ethical teachers in every shamanistic performance, a function which is shared by the spirits who are close relatives of the living Yaruros. It is they who visit their living descendants and speak through the body of the shaman, correct abuses, scold the evildoers and praise the good.

CREATION LEGEND

Version I

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At first there was nothing. Then Puaná the Snake, who came first, created the world and everything in it, including the river courses, except the water. Itciai the Jaguar created the water. Kuma was the first person to people the land. Then the other people were created. Then came India Rosa from the east. The Guahibos were created last. That is the reason that they live in the forest.

Horses and cattle were given to the Yaruros. However, they were so large that the Yaruros were afraid to mount them. The "Racionales" were not afraid, and so the horses were given to them.

The sun travels in a canoe from east to west. At night it goes to Kuma's land. The stars are her children and they wander about at night. The moon, which is a sister to the sun, travels in a boat.

On the land of Kuma exists a large plant of each species. The plants which are cultivated by the Racionales were first given to the Yaruros. The Yaruros cut them down in such a way that the tops fell in the land of the Racionales. The roots remained in the land of the Yaruros, but the Racionales got the seed and that is why they have bananas, plantains, maize, tobacco, and the Yaruros have none of those things.

Version II

Everything sprang from Kuma, and everything that the Yaruros do was established by her. She is dressed like a shaman, only her ornaments are of gold and much more beautiful.

With Kuma sprang Puaná and Itciai; Hatchawa is her grandson and Puaná made a bow and arrow for him. Puaná taught Hatchawa to hunt and fish. When Hatchawa saw the people at the bottom of a hole and wished to bring them to the top Puaná made him a rope and a hook.

Another figure that sprang with Kuma was Kiberoh. She carried fire in her breast and at Kuma's request gave it to the boy Hatchawa. But when the boy wanted to give it to the people Kuma refused and he cleverly threw live fish in the fire, spreading coals all about. The people seized the hot coals and ran away to start fires of their own. Everything was at first made and given to the boy and he passed it on to the people. Everybody sprang from Kuma, but she was not made pregnant in the ordinary way. It was not necessary.

Version III

The first to appear was Kuma, the chief of all of us and the entire world. Itciai, Puaná, and Kiberoh appeared with her. There was nothing then. Nothing had been created. Kuma was made

773 pregnant. She wanted to be impregnated in the thumb but Puaná
539 told her that too much progeny would be produced that way. So she was made pregnant in the ordinary way. Hatchawa was born, grandchild (?) of Kuma, Puaná, and Itciai. From then on the attention of the three was centered on the boy. Puaná created the land; Itciai the water in the rivers. Hatchawa was very small, but soon grew to a very large size. Kuma and Puaná took care of his education, though Puaná took more care of him. Puaná made a bow and arrow for him and told him to hunt and fish. Hatchawa found a hole in the ground one day and looked into it. He saw many people. He went back to his grandparents to ask them to get some of the people out. Kuma did not want to let the people come out, but Hatchawa insisted on it. Pauná made a thin rope and hook and dropped it into the hole. The people came out, just as many men as women. Finally a pregnant woman tried to come out and she broke the thin rope in getting out. That is the reason there are few people.

The world was dark and cold. There was no fire. Puaná had made the earth and everything on it, and Itciai had created the water. Hatchawa took a live jagupa (a fish) and threw it into the fire which was kept burning in the center of Kuma-land, a high circular pasture. The little fish struggled and knocked coals all about, and the people ran away in all directions with the coals. One part of these people were the Yaruros. Then Kuma wanted to give the horse to them, but the Pumeh (Yaruros) were afraid to mount it.

Of every plant in Kuma land there exists (or existed) a gigantic type, so big that an ax can't cut it. Of every animal there exists a gigantic representative.

VERSION IV

India Rosa is the same as big Kuma. This Kuma lives in her city in the east. She is either the wife or sister of the sun. She is the younger sister of the other Kuma. She taught the women to make pottery and weave basketry in the same way as Puaná taught the men. Itciai and the other Kuma look after everything.

VERSION V

At first there was nothing. The snake, who came first, created the world and everything in it, including the water courses, but did not create the water itself. The jaguar, the brother of the snake, created the water. The people of India Rosa were the first to people the land. After them, the other people were created. India Rosa came from the east. The Guahibos were created last. That is the reason that they live in the bush.

Horses and cattle were given first to the Yaruros. However, they were so large that the Yaruros were afraid to mount them. The "Racionales" were not afraid, and so they were given the horse.

The sun travels in a boat from the east. It goes to a town at night. The stars are his children and they go out from the town at night. The moon, who is a sister of the sun, also travels in a boat.

VERSION VI

A woman who came from the east went to live with the sun at his village in the west. She taught women how to do everything which women do. The sun taught the men. The sun and India Rosa are married, and probably were the first people from whom everyone has sprung. But the sun and India Rosa came out of the ground. They had children. Everything was dark at that time. The children dispersed in all directions. They became the different peoples of the world. Then everything was covered with water. Horses were given to the people but they were afraid and would not ride them. But a white man sick with smallpox rode the horse, and then the horse was given to his people. He asked the Yaruros to kill him and they did. Then his people killed the Yaruros.

VERSION VII

India Rosa came first. She gave birth to a son and a daughter. The son impregnated his sister, who gave birth to all humanity. India Rosa went west, the daughter went east. The son is the sun. The moon is the daughter. The snake came afterwards, and the jaguar created the water.

VERSION VIII

Kuma was first. God appeared. Had two children, brother and sister, and they married. There were no human beings at that time. One day Kuma said, "Let us have some people". So God went out to see about it. He found a man in a hole. He went back to Kuma, consulted with her, and went back to the man with a hook and a rope. A pregnant woman wanted to be the first to come out of the hole, but she was left to the last. Many people were brought out. The last to be brought out was the pregnant woman, and then the rope broke. The world was dark and cold. So God made a fire. A fish appeared and scattered it, so that each person could take a little of the fire. That is why all people have fire today. The people married among themselves. One of the woman descendants of India Rosa married a man of the new race and from them sprang the Yaruros. This was welcomed because the father of the girl said, 773 539 "Here, a son-in-law will take care of me now!" Then the Yaruros lived. The shaman had a nephew and a son. The nephew fell in love with his own sister and married—he was changed into a jaguar and she into a snake (?). If it had not been for this there would not have been any snakes and jaguars. Human beings should not marry their own sisters. It was ordered by Kuma. Animals are different.

Then one man found a tree with all the fruits on it. He did not tell the others. A white man appeared on horseback. Said he would come back in eight days. He came back in a boat. Scattered seeds everywhere. Thus he changed the country. Before it was all open savanna, but now forests and agricultural products grew.

India Rosa taught the women. God taught the men. God wanted to give the horse to the Yaruros, but they were afraid to mount, so he gave it to the Racionales instead.

KUMA

791 776 787 Presumably, Kuma is anthropomorphic. The only ones among the Yaruros who have any knowledge of this mythical being who is responsible for the world are the shamans. These individuals are loath to discuss what they see in their dreams, claiming that all they have to say about such things are said during their shamanistic performances. Besides, they claim that they do not remember what they see during their trances.

531 776 534 Nevertheless, on the rattles appear graphic representations of what Kuma is supposed to look like. In all cases, she seems to resemble a human being, standing with her arms extended upward in greeting to her people. Such figures are represented on the gourd rattles shown in plate 24 and figures 25, 26, 27. It was explained that the lines
[301] appearing on the body of Kuma represent body painting and ornaments.

776 Of all the godheads or spirit forces of the Yaruros, Kuma is the most clear-cut. She is the creator of all things, and everything emanates from her. Her associates, Puaná, Itciai, and Hatchawa, function according to the laws of Kuma. Apparently they are not able to do anything without her consent, but occasionally she may be tricked. For instance, when Hatchawa decided to give fire to the people he threw a live fish into Kuma's fire. The wriggling of the fish scattered the coals, which the people seized and carried away.

Kuma is represented neither as an indulgent mother nor as an entirely benevolent creature in the myths. It is Hatchawa and Puaná who favor human beings. In fact, Kuma was opposed to peopling the earth with the human race. In spite of this there is no

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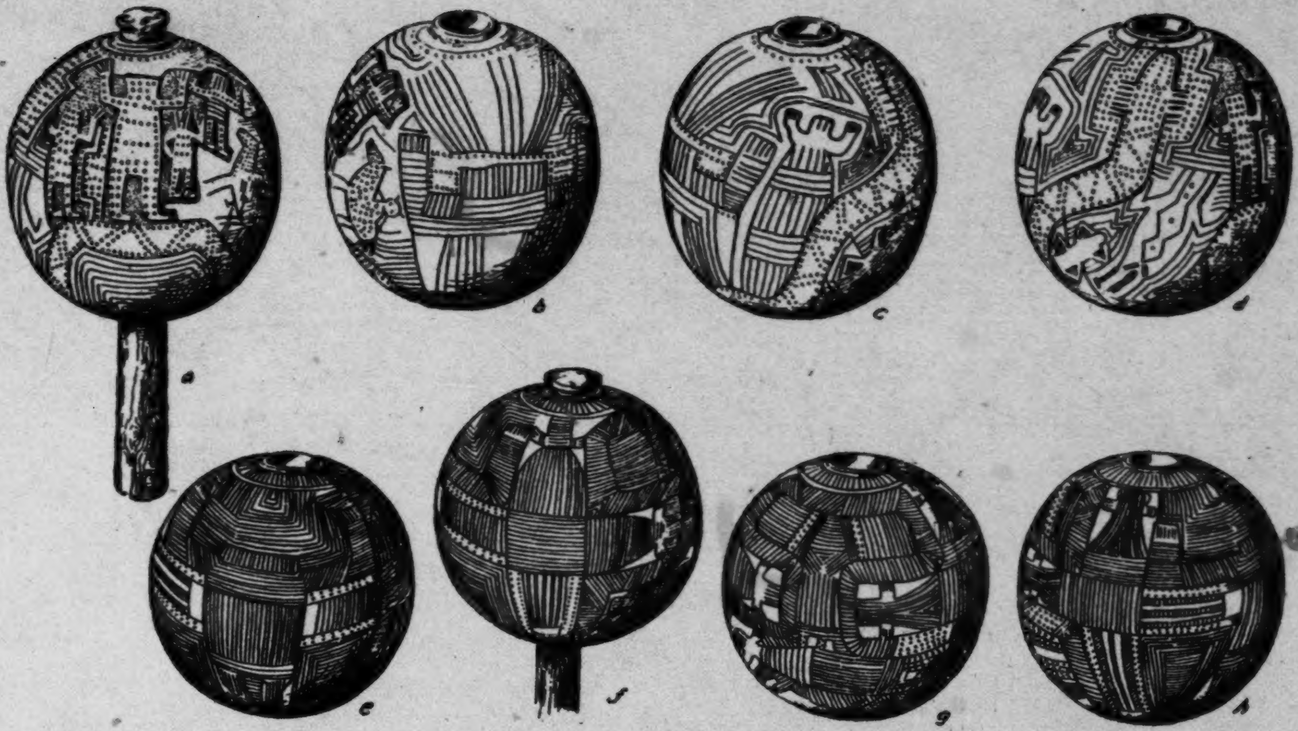

FIGURE 25.—Decorated gourd rattles of the shamans. *a, b, c, d,* Views of Landaeta's favorite instrument (rotating toward the left). *e, f, g, h,* Gourd rattle decorated by Landaeta after a night's shamanistic performance.

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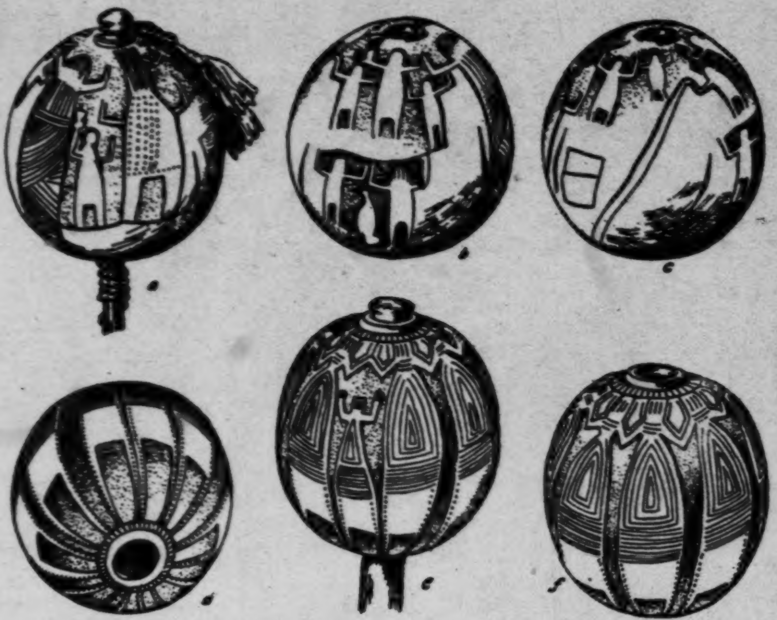

FIGURE 26.—Shaman's gourd rattles. *a*, *b*, *c*, Views of same instrument. *a*, The long figure on the left represents Puaná. The next figure on the right is Hatchawa, next to which is standing Kuma. *b*, The three figures at the top are, reading left to right, Hatchawa, Kuma, and Itciai. At the extreme right can be seen Puaná. In the lower portion the figures represent the Yaruros, except the figure of the bird, symbolism of which remained undisclosed. *d*, *e*, *f*, Views of same rattle. The figures represent the Yaruros dancing around a pole. The small figure in *e* represents a child.

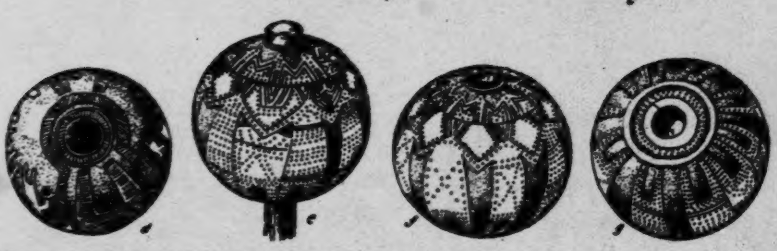

FIGURE 27.—Shaman's gourd rattles. *a*, *b*, *c*, Views of same instrument. *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, Views of same instrument. *a* shows Kuma in the characteristic posture of greeting her people. *b* and *c* show Kuma dancing with her people. *d*, *e*, *f*, and *g* are views of the same rattle that show Kuma's people, the dead Yaruros, dancing in her land.

776 criticism of Kuma, and there is even an implication that she always acts with the greatest wisdom.

THE LAND OF KUMA

772 821 Kuma lives in the west, apparently beyond the horizon. In the month of March and in early April, about 9 o'clock in the evening, there is a glow in the western sky, a beautiful phenomenon, which the Yaruros explained is the reflection from Kuma's land. Its exact geographic position does not seem to be known and is as hazy as a Catholic's idea of the position of Heaven. For instance, we are told that the stars are both the lights from Kuma Land and the people from that land walking about at night, and yet the Land of Kuma is localized somewhere in the west.

154 177 186 This land is described sometimes as a vast and clean savanna, treeless and full of game, and at other times as a savanna with a huge town in which Kuma and her people live. This latter conception springs from the association the modern Yaruros have between wealth, comfort, power, and those material things which the civilized peoples possess. Towns are included among the products of the civilized. In the same way we find that although the Yaruros are a horseless people, Kuma and her people seem to have an abundance of horses. Apparently those things which are denied the Yaruros in this land are to be found in the next and shamanism is the means of expressing the longings of the living Yaruros.

THE LAND OF KIBEROH

776 772 In contrast with the beautiful world in which Kuma lives and to which all Yaruros expect to go, Kiberoh rules over a dark land inhabited by those unfortunate races of mankind left in the hole when the rope dropped by Hatchawa was broken by a too-heavy pregnant woman. Not much is known, nor is there much interest on the part of the Yaruros about this unpleasant region. However, this must not be taken that they have a belief in hell as Father Gumilla reported. [114] According to this author the Yaruros believed in an evil spirit called Tighitighi. On the contrary, my informants identified Tighitighi merely as a large hawk which has no relation to the devil.

PUANÁ

776 Puaná stands out as the indulgent parent and teacher of Hatchawa. He is also the artisan who invented all of the implements now used by the Yaruros. He is conceived of as the great snake, and in fact is so portrayed on the gourd rattles of the shamans, yet there is a

776 strong implication both in the myths and the saying he attends to his
[616] people, especially those belonging to the snake moiety, that Puaná
is also anthropomorphic. I believe that the conception of the godheads is not quite as clear among the Yaruros as we who attempt to rationalize his beliefs would like it to be. Puaná stands closer to the members of his moiety than does even Kuma. During the shamanistic performances led by Landaeta the singing and dancing were rather sluggish until it was announced by the shaman that Puaná was on his way, and when Puaná reached the shaman's body there was unbounded rejoicing which put fresh spirit into the singing and
776 the dancing. No such enthusiasm was apparent even when Kuma
781 approached. We may contrast the attitude toward Kuma and Puaná as one of respect and one of familiar love.

HATCHAWA

Hatchawa is the culture hero of the Yaruros. It is he who interceded with Kuma about giving fire to the human race, and it is he who begged Puaná to make a bow which he passed on to his people. He is credited with being the direct instrument and also the means by which the Yaruros have acquired knowledge of hunting. When Hatchawa arrives among the Yaruros during shamanistic performances he is received gladly and thankfully.

ITCIAI

All of the shamans with whom I spoke and whose performances I attended belong to the Puaná clan. They knew little of Itciai and were not interested in telling me much about this rival to Puaná. Itciai seems to be identified with the jaguar, but he is not anthropomorphic. He is given credit for having created the water in the rivers, but, as if they were jealous of even this attribute, my informants said that "Itciai created only the water in the rivers."

FLOOD LEGEND

773 After the people were created and had lived on this earth a long
539 time they began to forget to do the right thing. They no longer believed that Kuma is the mother of water and the entire universe and everything that there is in it. So Kuma, in order to show them that she was the creator of the universe and everything therein, caused a rain to begin which continued until everything was covered over with water except a tree on the upper Capanaparo, and the top of a hill. A man and his sister took refuge on the very topmost branches of the tree, and a man with his aunt saved themselves by staying on top of this hill.

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Everything was covered with water and these four survivors of the human race suffered great hunger for many days. Those on the tree ate the leaves, and the bark, and some of the wood itself. Those on the hill not only suffered great hunger but were menaced also by a huge fish that wanted to eat them and kept on swimming around and around the hill. Finally Kuma stopped the rain. The first day after the rain stopped the waters withdrew one arm's length. The people ate what they found on the exposed land. The second day the waters withdrew two arm lengths. The people had nothing to hunt with. There were no trees out of which to make bows and arrows, since everything had been destroyed by the waters. Finally the turtles began to come out of the water and the people were able to catch some of them. Everything was clean of vegetation and flat, but they managed to gather food enough to live. After some days the one man said to the other, "Look here! We are all alone. Why don't you marry my sister and I will marry your aunt?" The other replied, "Very good; but I must ask my aunt if she is willing to marry you." So he asked his aunt and she consented to marry the man. The two men then married the women. They then had children. The man's aunt gave birth to a girl, and the sister of the other man gave birth to two boys. When the older boy was sufficiently grown up his father told him to marry the girl who was his cousin. The boy answered his father that he was no good for marriage, that he was not able to hunt enough food, or do anything else well, and that he could not have sexual relations with women. So the man waited until the younger son was old enough, and this boy married the girl. They had children and they married each other. But there were not enough girls, so the two boys married the children of the snake and the jaguar and went to live with them.

The uncle of these children, he who had not been able to marry, and who knew many things, did not like brother and sister marriage. To show them that they were like wild beasts he changed the boys into a jaguar and a snake. Then he tried to change them back again, but after twelve days he gave it up. He was not able to do it. Then he called the people together and told them that in the future they should not marry their sisters, since marriage between brother and sister is practiced only by the wild animals, and that if they did they also would be changed to snakes and jaguars, and that he was powerless to change them back again. He told them to marry their cousins, that is, the cross cousins. And he told them that those who descended from the snake should marry those who descended from the jaguar. That is how the Yaruros, who are the descendants of these people, are related to the snakes and jaguars.

SHAMANISM

791 157 Prerequisites to successful shamanism are temperament, knowledge, and experience. It has often been stressed by field investigators that in matters of religion, as in matters of artistic expression, only certain types of personalities can achieve any success. In the case of the Yaruros, by temperament is meant the inclination and desire to become a shaman which perhaps is reducible to other factors of personality, and a neurotic make-up which will permit the tyro to experience religious phenomena. Since there is no set test which has to be passed in order to be recognized as a shaman the pretender can try to achieve recognition by his people until his very death, but if he lacks the necessary temperament his attempt is hopeless. A
791 554 shaman must have knowledge above that of his fellow tribesmen. He must know and understand thoroughly the history of his people and their mythology, he must be able to solve and settle ethical points that may come up on the basis of ancestral customs, he must know all the medicinal practices of his people, and the magical also. In short, he must be a savant and a leader, a person who will be morally respected. This knowledge he can acquire only through experience. The Yaruros say that he must acquire it through personal teaching from the gods, not through an intermediary but in actuality he learns, of course, from the older shamans whose place he will take eventually and from the rest of his people. He is supposed to sing behind a shaman for many years before he can hold performances of his own.

791 533 He must, of course, learn all the tricks of the trade, though by this is not implied that the shaman is conscious of practicing any legerdemain among his people, but there is a certain ceremonial pattern which must be mastered by the neophyte and which can only be mastered by practice over a long period of time. For instance, in singing there are undoubtedly a number of standardized songs, but what is more important is to learn the musical pattern and the pattern of phraseology that must be fitted to the music. Since in a shamanistic performance the shaman does not sing set songs but spontaneous ones which he composes, or as the Yaruros claim the gods compose, and sing through the shaman, it is essential that he have many years of experience. The importance of this is fully understood when it is considered that the shaman must sing without any pause or hesitation some six thousand stanzas in the course of a night's performance, varying his tune and words again and again. It seems reasonable to suppose that there must be form given to such performances which can be mastered by one following closely the performances of a particular shaman.

791 Shamanism is not socially inherited, but we may suspect that biologically it is in many cases. There is no attempt made to train any particular child for shamanism except that naturally those children who stand in a close relationship to the current shaman, such as sons, daughters, neices, and nephews, have a better chance to take up the profession than others, from their daily close association with the only person from whom they can learn. The performances are never secret and the children are permitted to be present until they are too tired and go to sleep. As they grow older they will tend to participate in the performances to a greater extent until they are able to stay up all night and take their proper place in adult society. Naturally among the children some will be attracted to singing and dancing with their elders more than others and these will tend to place themselves as close to the shaman as they can until they are of such age that they can be of actual assistance to him, when, if they make known their interest in becoming a shaman they may even become his understudies or disciples. One of them who shows the greatest interest and the greatest ability in singing, in remembering details and dancing, and a shamanistic temperament will always take his place behind the shaman and will take the lead in repeating the
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stanzas of the songs composed by him. Gradually he may attempt shamanistic performances of his own and gather followers as he is successful in obtaining religious experience. It is not uncommon to see a young man sitting on the sands facing east and to the east of the camp, at night, singing to himself and alone. Sometimes he has one or two others singing behind him, depending on his prestige. It is, of course, his great hope that some day he will be so successful as to win the approbation and confidence of the people, which will depend on his success with the gods themselves.

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The shaman must be a rather highly imaginative type. The only way he can impress his people with his knowledge and experience is to visit and see the abode of the gods and ancestors and to be able to describe these in words and in song and graphically with etchings on gourd rattles, so that unless the performer is of such a temperament that he can live through such experiences he can never become a shaman. Nor is there any opportunity for the one who will pretend having had such experiences, for naturally tribal tradition patterns are a constant check on him and his visions must necessarily conform to those had by other shamans; nor can he pretend to have visions of the particular type since he has the entire body of people as his severe critics and any inconsistency will be immediately seen to his discredit. Actually, I do not think there is ever any pretense. In the first place, we must remove the suggestion that there is material gain to flow from attaining the position of shaman. The shaman is an

791 ordinary citizen, receiving no compensation except the respect given
787 to an old man and a moral teacher. In the second place, shamanism
is a lifetime activity, and it would seem improbable that one would
157 create such a life for himself which he would have to live until death if he were not suited to it. I saw cases of men who were striving to be shamans, some young and some old, with great regret admitting that they could not see the religious visions that others more successful had seen. In a primitive society such as that of the Yaruros, where life values are simple and evident to every one, where the intimacy existing between its members is thorough, there is very little incentive and very little opportunity for pretense.

791 Landaeta, my chief informant among the shamans, claimed that
he did not remember the specific events that he "dreams" when he
787 sang and that he could not sing during the day, nor could he remember
115 the songs. He himself had to be told by the others what happened during a shamanistic performance. Thus he could tell me neither the words nor the tunes. I had to wait for another performance to try to take down both. Since the words were conversations between the shaman and the spirit forces, and thus varied at each performance, he was right. Yet there is a musical pattern and undoubtedly a word pattern also.

791 In the matter of making the sacred objects, he claimed that only
those who have "dreamed", have had religious experience, can make
787 them. Thus he himself was carving the rattles, and claimed that no
531 one else among his people could carve them. Some, like his nephew
778 and son-in-law Juan Garcia, were learning.

At Landaeta's death probably the shaman will be either Brigido
791 Tovar, his son, or Juan Garcia, his nephew and son-in-law. Legend
787 favors the son, but Landaeta looks to Garcia. However, it is the son
554 who sang behind the shaman in this case, but Garcia has had religious experiences already.

Landaeta himself claims that he sang behind his uncle for a long time without a moracca. Finally he had a "dream" and he was permitted to use a moracca. This religious experience is absolutely necessary to a future shaman.

791 That the shaman follows certain patterns of song, ritual, dream,
and revelation is quite certain, and it is these patterns that are trans-
533 mitted to the neophyte. Both dreams and revelations always have
787 some bearing on current problems, and in fact attempt to solve these problems.

During a shamanistic performance the first songs describe the journey of the shaman's soul to the Land of Kuma. Upon reaching the desired land the shaman shakes his rattle violently and the songs

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533 that follow describe this land as well as the gods and the spirits of
787 the Yaruros.

It is to be noted that it is the ornaments worn by Kuma rather than
776 the person of the gods which are described. We are told that she
wears golden necklaces, fine clothes, and belts and bands typical of
301 the ancient Yaruro woman's costume. She is represented vaguely
as being in the form of a human being, who, on the other hand, is
never described. Try as I might, I was not able to obtain any idea
of her appearance. Hatchawa, as we know, is a little boy, but Itciai
again lacks any definite form.

787 The shaman claims that during his ordinary life he has no idea of what he sees in the Land of Kuma, therefore these descriptions can only be gathered from due sources through the songs which he sings in shamanistic performances and through the figures which he etches out on the shamanistic gourd rattle. Several of these rattles are reproduced on plate 24 and figures 25, 26, 27.

The shaman does not claim special power to reveal anything, nor
does he claim to have the power to cure. He is merely a vehicle or in-
strument through which the gods can visit the Yaruros by substituting
themselves for the soul of the shaman. The only power that he claims
is the ability to let his soul leave his body and travel to the Land of
787 Kuma. His soulless body subsequently becomes possessed by various
533 spirits who wish to communicate with their relatives on earth. As ex-
plained above, the shaman only sings the first songs hesitantly and in
a poor voice which is in direct contrast to the violent and beautiful
singing which the spirits exhibit when they are in possession of his
body.

772 Kuma's Land is a perfect heaven for the Yaruro, who has endowed it with all the comforts and liberty denied to him in this world. In Kuma's Land food is abundant, the weather is ideal, there are no forests, no diseases, and most important of all, no civilized being to desolate them. We are confronted here with the creation on the part of the Yaruro of a superlative heaven which furnishes an escape for him from the woes of this life.

181 We have noted before that primitive peoples, when faced for a
177 time with a hopeless situation in this world, such as extinction, tend
to seek and discover an escape by creating such a heaven. The
Guarani sought a heaven in the West where there was no death and
no persecution. More recently our own Indians on the reservations
have turned to Peyoteism, which also supplies a heaven. In all these
cases there is a renunciation of this world. The will to live is prac-
tically gone because there is no need to worry about maintaining life
in this world, an impossible thing to do when in competition with
civilization. But a heaven which cannot be touched by any civilized

181 invention offers a perfect refuge, even though it is only a philo-
177 sophical one.

Mechanical aids to the shaman, in addition to his own psycho-
791 logical make-up, are: music and dance; tobacco, which he consumes
276 in great quantities during his performance; tcuipah, a root with nar-
273 cotic properties; caroto, which is a fermented or unfermented mixture
of crushed maize and water, or manioc and water, and when obtainable,
[13] white rum. The extent to which these stimulants are used can be
illustrated by the observations which are made in the course of one all-night performance: The shaman consumed 42 cigarettes which I offered him, about 100 cigars, which consisted of several strips of tobacco leaf wrapped in a thick green leaf obtained from one of the trees along the bank, about 6 inches of the tcuipah root, and about 2 quarts of the fermented maize-and-water mixture. Since these narcotics and stimulants were taken hurriedlly and in great quantities, it must have had a terrific physiological effect upon him. For instance, every cigarette and cigar was smoked completely through
533 in 10 seconds. Each musical stanza lasted from about 10 to 15 sec-
276 onds. He sang it first and then it was repeated by his people. It
was during this repetition of his song that the shaman inhaled as much of the tobacco smoke as possible and then exhaled it just before commencing a new stanza.

791 In contrast with the rather violent shamanistic performance of
276 the male shaman, the women do not seem to depend very much on
narcotics. During the day the men are not permitted to sing or whistle, but the women may lie in their hammocks and sing. They may take small quantities of all of these narcotics, but as far as my observation went I never saw any of them consume any great quantity.

531 The spiritual world of the shaman is quite different from the
776 everyday realistic world. A comparison of the carvings on the
gourd rattles with the realistic carvings of the asabache made by
787 anyone greatly demonstrates this. In the latter form of art ex-
pression, animals, birds, and scenes are copied with great accuracy and skill. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that if the shaman were to attempt the realistic representation of the spirit world he could do so, but he has chosen to portray the various gods and spirits almost symbolically. Kuma and Hatchawa were always represented holding up their hands. It is this position which is read into the western skies whenever at sunset there occurs a phenomenon described above. The rays of light emanating from the horizon represent the fingers of the hands of the gods.

535 The form of the dance has been described. It starts off as a simple
791 walk around a pole and it may become a fast run in the evening,

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791 with the stamping of the right foot on the off-beat, but whenever the shaman is giving a really good performance his whole body responds to the dance and he may shake as violently as the rattle in his hand. His people may also throw themselves into a dance, making a series of jerky movements, bending from the waist downward and up again.

533 One of the typical songs of Kuma was a greeting to me. She said:

> 539 Greetings, man, greetings. Your wife is waiting. She is not dead, nor is she sick, but she is thinking that her husband has been away so long that perhaps he is dead. She is good and loves her husband who is sick, which is good. But it is good that he is with me (Kuma speaking) and with my people. He is a good man. He gives me a cigar. I shall give him a horse when he is born again in my (Kuma) land. I shall give him much silver when he is born again in Kuma Land. I love him, the good man, and I shall love him in my land. In the other land, my land, he gave me drink like you my people. Like you my people, everyone will come to my land, the Yaruro land.

FEMALE SHAMANISM

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776 It proved impossible to learn much about those things in which the women are chiefly or exclusively interested. The shamans seem to be as influential among both sexes as the men are, and they seem to acquire their power and prestige through dreams or revelations in the same way as the male shamans do. In the case of the women it seems that India Rosa must appear in a dream rather than Kuma. In the legends it is India Rosa who taught the women the various arts and crafts, so in shamanism she is the chief spiritual power. During the day, both Kuma and India Rosa are pictured as resting in their hammocks. Because of that the women shamans sing sitting in their hammocks, swaying back and forth, during the day. Apparently it is believed that by imitating the picture of Kuma and India Rosa they can reach the two spiritual forces more easily. These shamans never perform at night, although they will sing with the male shaman when the latter is giving a performance.

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534 The gourd rattle seems to be an instrument which only the shamans can use with immunity and as a means of conversing with Kuma. The women do not have these rattles. Their singing is done unaccompanied by any musical instrument or by any dancing. Dancing is performed only at night, when it is led by the male shaman.

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123 The nature of the visions experienced by the female shamans remained unknown to me. As has been mentioned before, social intercourse between man and woman, unless closely related by blood or marriage, is prohibited. It is a social taboo which apparently is never violated and which no amount of bribery could break down. It seemed best to respect this custom, even though it were at the expense of remaining ignorant of many phases of Yaruro culture practiced by the women. So, in the case of shamanism, although the

609 women sang to me and for me, I was not able to learn anything about
123 their conceptions of the universe nor any other matter.

On one occasion Landaeta, the shaman, invited Juan Bario's band
796 to participate in a performance. The women prepared for it by
304 painting the face with stamped designs—stamps smeared with oily
302 stuff, stamped on the face, then the entire face, from eyebrows down, was covered with a thick coat of red ocher. It stuck where the grease was. The hair was worn in one braid down the back. They wore their best dresses.

In anticipation of a long night, I lay down on the sands to rest, if
521 possible. However, the skies interested the Yaruros. Landaeta and
123 his people lay beside me to talk about the heavens. From that we passed to a discussion of Hatchawa, who, according to Landaeta, had said that I was well known to him and a good friend. In order to test the shaman I told him that I was anxious about my family whom I had left so long ago, and I asked him to find out about my wife, son, and general family from Hatchawa, which he promised to do. The conversation went back to the stars, and as the big dipper began to rise over the northern horizon Landaeta disappeared in the darkness. Soft conversation continued, and then came Juan Bario and his family to join us.

796 A few words of warm friendship with Juan Bario and we went
[292] to joint Landaeta, who was sitting ready to begin. Landaeta had withdrawn to the west of the camp, and put on his shamanistic breechclout and head-cloth, which consisted of a sort of headkerchief. His son Brigido sat behind him; to the right of Landaeta sat Brigida, his wife, and next to her, her sister. Juan Bario and I sat back a little.

Unlike our own religious ceremonies, there was no attempt at artificial seriousness. The children played about noisily, without reproof, under the very nose of the shaman, some of the men jested and laughed, others conversed more quietly, etc. In other words, the imminent communion with the gods was an event of festive proportions, and no restraints were placed on the normal and natural behavior.

796 Landaeta began to sing and he was accompanied by a few of the
791 attendants. In the meanwhile small fires had appeared here and there, and at these were lighted the long green leaf-covered cigars. None smoked an entire cigar, following the general custom of sharing with the other fellow. The songs at first were accompanied with faint rattling of the macaua, but this became stronger and stronger as the shaman approached the Land of Kuma. Finally at midnight—almost on the stroke—the shaman announced in his song that he had reached the desired land. The singing became more intense, faster, and everyone seemed to take more interest.

796 Up to this time his son and his wife had been attending him, with Isidoro, called grandchild, but actually a son of a first cousin, Fernando, singing to the left of Brigido (son) helping out. Brigida's special care was the tobacco. She would light a cigar and hold it to the shaman's mouth, who took tremendous pulls on it, raising clouds of smoke, until only a stub was left. This was generally finished by several. The son would go to the left of the shaman and offer him caroto—crushed maize in water. He drank it in one suck, leaving nothing behind. Sometimes Matilde, the shaman's sister-in-law, offered the cigar. When necessary, Brigido (son) or the "grandchild" took up the song and carried it, repeating the same verses, until the shaman was ready to resume the lead.

796 787 A little after midnight I noticed that a man and woman embraced the shaman and offered him cigars and drink. Inquiry produced the fact that the spirit of their dead father had come to visit us, and so not only did they embrace it but they offered it caroto and tobacco. From this moment on the shaman was with us only in body. More and more dead Yaruros came to visit us, and practically everyone embraced the shaman and made offerings.

The singing never stopped, the rattle was shaken violently from now on, and the shaman, without changing rhythm or song, would announce what spirit had arrived. The spirit's relative mostly concerned would then embrace the shaman and make offering. They were, of course, embracing the relative. The spirit gave messages also. In this way all of the dead Yaruros visited us. The shaman announced that Itciai was coming, though he was beyond the dead Yaruros. The singing became more and more animated, almost frenzied.

Itciai arrived and Juan Bario told me to go with him to the shaman. Apparently Itciai was talking about me, referred to as *the man*. We greeted Itciai by embracing the shaman. I had the thought of lighting a cigarette and through Juan offered it. Without interrupting the song it was smoked in the shamanistic or rather spirit style, and Itciai began to explain who I was. He said that he knew me well, that I had visited Kuma's land many times, that I was a shaman; that my family was well, that my wife was waiting for me and that my son was so anxious he began to fear that I was dead. He said that there was something big being saved for me until I reached my country. I was a Pumeh, a good man, and a man like the Yaruros; that he was glad I liked the Yaruros so much, and that he was glad I was living with them. I had nothing to fear, since on my death I would go to Kuma's land. Itciai was saving for me a beautiful large horse, all ready for me to ride.

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During this song discourse from Itciai about me, which lasted about one hour and which was translated to me only in fragmentary fashion, at the beginning of a new thought the shaman often would shake the rattle violently before my face and continue the same frenzied tone and shaking throughout. The people likewise sang lustily with feeling; a great compliment to me.

Itciai had something to say about the Yaruros in general; namely, that they were doomed to die, but that a better world and life awaits them with Kuma. They will have horses and cattle, clothing, tobacco, all foods and aguardiente; they will be born again there, young and strong. This world will come to an end because the Yaruros are being killed off.

Later Hatchawa called. I had a cigarette ready for him. He appreciated it and asked the shaman why I didn't drink caroto, to go ahead and have a drink. I was a Pumeh. He acknowledged my acquaintance in my own land and in Kuma's, and expressed deep affection for me. He brought good news of my family, saying to hurry back since my wife was waiting for me, and had been waiting for me with much love for a long time. He got another cigarette and I was embraced several times.

The next to come was the father of Juan Bario, and as soon as I heard of it I offered a cigarette. It was properly acknowledged and the people were told that indeed I knew a great deal, since I had cigarettes ready to greet the spirits.

About 3 in the morning came Puaná, expressly to greet me. He told the Yaruros that I lived on another land which he himself had made and that he was glad I had come to visit this land. Such a greeting obviously called for a gift of three or four cigarettes which I held to the shaman's mouth. He described my land as being like that of Kuma—high and beautiful, different from this. That my people were gentle "people" like the Yaruros, Pumeh. He gave me further news of my family and said that he was keeping for me much cattle and many horses in the land of Kuma.

Puaná was greeted with happy laughter and general approval, as demonstrated by the quality of the singing which took on extra intensity and loudness. Puaná stayed with us for about an hour and a half, talking most of the time about me.

Finally about 5 o'clock Kuma herself came to visit me and, like Hatchawa, offered me a drink. I had to drink a gourd full of the concoction, it being held to my lips until I finished it. She gave messages similar to the others. There was a long spell when Kuma talked to Juan Bario, the son-in-law of Landaeta, who kept feeding Kuma with many cigars and caroto. Finally other Yaruros came, and the

796
787 shaman eventually returned to us, being fed and greeted with affection by all.

The singing stopped at 6 o'clock. A number of rather remarkable facts are to be emphasized.

533 1. By actual count the shaman sang no less than 3,000 musical
791 phrases and verses and about 800 stanzas without any breaks or rest,
796 ever changing the words, and subject matter, and jumping from one thing to another at a very fast tempo. How the shaman could make up his verses so quickly, while the people repeated the previous verse, is not easy to understand.

2. He shook the rattle without ceasing a moment, with the same sidewise motion of the hand, most violently for nine and a half hours.

[516] 3. He sat in the same posture—left leg doubled under him, right leg in cross-leg position, for the entire time. Not once did he move.

4. He smoked the long cigars with the thick leaves without taking
[276] them out of his mouth, producing so much smoke that I choked and my eyes smarted from it. He must have smoked at least 75 of them, and probably over a hundred. He smoked 35 cigarettes, in addition, in the same way.

[273] 5. He drank about 2 gallons of unfermented crushed maize in water.

The music was spirited and had a swing with the emphasis on the off beat that is as effective, if not more so, than the negro spiritual.

After the all-night singing there was a lull in the morning, everyone snatching a wink of sleep, but by the time I had finished writing and medicating my foot the men crowded around to tell me of the night's experiences. At noon the women started singing, sitting in their hammocks, and they kept this up until late in the day. They were singing mostly about me. I noticed that their songs seemed to be of a simpler sort and more monotonous than those of the men, generally consisting of one verse repeated over and over again to form the
[198] stanza. They sang in the women's language.

JUAN BARIO ON THE EVENTS OF THE NIGHT

115 Panemé Tsió brought a horse for the shaman to go to Kuma's
787 house. Panemé Tsió is represented as a sort of "boss" of the figu-
776 rines found in the sands. Then came the father of Fernando. He said that they should live well here and warned him not to mistreat his wife (talking to son-in-law). Then came the father of Brigida. He said that the new wife of his [illegible]randson should treat her husband well and vice versa. Then ca[illegible] a brother of Brigida. He said that he is wealthy in Kuma's land, possessing cattle and horses. Then came the mother of Brigida. She counseled her grandchild not to

115 mistreat his new wife, otherwise even his relatives in Kuma's land
787 will lose their riches. She told Juan Bario, her brother, that she
776 greeted him, that mother was happy (dead). Then came Garcia, the
brother of Juan. He said that he had gone to the house of Kuma without having seen his relatives before dying (he died without being attended during his illness); that he was buried without even clothing, and thus he arrived at Kuma's without anything (his clothing was actually stolen); that the grandfather (father of Juan Bario) came to take him to Kuma's land since his uncle was far away and busy and did not know of the sickness (father rarely is mentioned as taking care of children).

Then came Itciai on horseback, shoes, hat, etc. He came to greet us, and said that he came to greet me also since I was also a Pumeh; he told Juan Bario to interpret what he was saying to me, since I didn't understand Yaruro very well; he loved me and my family very much; that he loved a man who visited his people with love in his heart like me; that when the world ends he will not be like the others but like you will be made rich in Kuma's land; to explain to me, since I lived near him, that his wife, son, and family are well and waiting for me; that he had made the world to live in as this man lived; that I was a very good man and knew very much, that is why I was waiting with a cigar for him; that Hatchawa was coming.

787 Hatchawa came on horseback, with bow and arrow, shoes, and gold
776 necklace. He said: "I have come to greet this man and all of you.
What do you say and think of this man? Isn't it true that he loves you? The man came with love for you. There are no people like him about here. He is like you of the same family. Puaná will come now."

Puaná came on horseback, which makes a noise like the anaconda, "teio, teio"! "I have come to greet the man and you. Didn't you in his land? He has come with love for you. He is of your family; take care of him. Raise him as one of your family. He knows a great deal, like the shaman. That is the reason that he sings as you do. I have watched from very near. He lives in a land just like mine, mountainous and very beautiful. Where he lives it isn't warm as here. Sometimes it is very cold. Ask him if he wants a drink. Kuma is coming to get you."

Kuma arrived and said:

[539]

> "How are you? The man has come here as I want it to be. He is of our family, not like the people about here. That is the reason he loves you so much. He knows as much as the shaman; that is why he is waiting with a cigar ready. That is as I like people to be. Tell him that when the earth ends he won't live here in a cold world like the (?) but will live with you and like you very rich. He is of our family. Where he lives is very beautiful. For this reason I made this earth that people like him should live on it. For this reason I told Puaná to come to greet him, for I love him very much."

787 Then came the father of Juan Bario on horseback. He said:

> 115 "I greet you. I am waiting for you. Your land is poor now but Kuma's land
> 539] is good and rich. When you die you will be born in Kuma's land. I was
> living here with you, I died here, but I was alone in Kuma's land where I am
> wealthy. See, you are poor. I was the same way. It is different in Kuma's
> land. There is much cattle and horses. Live well with your wife. Treat her
> well. Kuma does not want you to do otherwise."

533 Then the shaman returned on horseback.

There is great reluctance on the part of the shaman to sing unless there is a strong reason for it. During my stay with the Yaruros many occasions presented themselves to justify the holding of shamanistic performances.

On one occasion I returned to camp after an absence of two days.
796 This was enough. I arrived at their camp about 7.30 in the evening.
791 Landaeta greeted me affectionately and then told me that he and his
people considered me a member of the family. The women came to put
their arms about me in greeting. Landaeta in one of his mystical
moods talked of the beauty of the small fire with turtle roasting; of the
sands glistening in the moonlight; the araguato monkeys which were
roaring in the distance; the occasional birds that sang in the night;
the toninos came up to blow and splash in the river. All of this
fitted in with the soft murmur of women speaking, and laughing
in the darkness. An occasional misfortune, such as dropping a sackful
of stuff, brought merry laughter on everybody's part. The crunching
276] of the sand gave notice that the women were digging deep to reach
moist sand in which to bury the leaves to be used as cigar covers.
Soon all of us, men, women, and children, were smoking.

The rest of Landaeta's people arrived in canoes. They sat on the sand with us. Landaeta talked with them at length. At a point he arose. His wife handed him some objects. He walked away to the west, immediately followed by one of his sons and a young nephew. He returned after a while, minus his trousers, wearing the shaman's breechclout and cap.

He went to sit alone at the bottom of the sand bank. After some
time his wife gave him a cigar. He continued to sit alone and
silent. At a sign his son and nephew took a slender pole and
planted it in the sand. They retired. Men and women continued talking. After some time Landaeta rose, stood before the
pole, smoking, facing it and the east. Several stars began to rise.
796 He stood in front of the pole for some time. Then he weakly began
791 to sing. After two songs his wife came to plant a shorter pole to the
533 west of the long one, and hung from it a basket. Landaeta continued standing still and singing, pausing briefly between songs.
His son went to stand behind him, his nephew at the left side of the

796 son. They began to take up the songs—shaman sang one phrase,
791 repeated it, sang at low pitch and repeated. Last repetition joined
533 in by assistants (attendants) and then the four phrases would be
repeated, the shaman remaining quiet, but immediately singing a
new phrase when they had hardly finished it. A few women joined
in a line side by side to the south of the shaman. Singing without
a rattle and without dancing continued for about an hour. Then
796 one of the women went to the basket and brought the shaman the
791 rattle. Singing continued. The only motion was a slow bending
535 forward and bending of the knees by the women in unison—that is,
rhythmically on the off beat. A few of the men did the same. Shaman would shake his rattle at times. At the end of one song he said "amen" and the women walked away to the west. When he began a new song they returned. His wife from time to time brought the shaman a cigar from the basket. A fire was started to the west of the pole and the women clustered around. The shaking of the rattle became more frequent and more energetic, and in the middle of one song the women and all began dancing. Women put right hand on left shoulder of one in front and walked anticlockwise around the pole. An inner circle was formed by the men walking one behind the other. Animation was slight, but the right foot was stamped on the off beat. After going around a few times they would stop in original position to finish the song.

This dance was varied a little later on.

In the course of the evening, the singing and dancing became more and more animated until the shaman was in a frenzy. High-pitched voice, faster rhythm, greater accentuation, more feeling. Shaking of rattle became more frequent, rhythm became faster. Shaman no longer stood still, but danced at first by a jerky movement for ward, bending the knees, then moving about, half spinning, and near the end his body seemed to quiver jerkingly and rhythmically. The women's motions became more and more accentuated and near the end men and women bent low at the waist, moving body up and down, bending legs at the knees. The walk around the pole became a fast run, with a hopping step on the right foot in unison. In this way—the men would leap high—a resonating beat was produced, accentuating the liquid rich rattle of the gourd and the choral singing.

This continued until 4 in the morning, becoming more and more frenzied, until the morning star appeared.

I regret that I fell asleep near the end. When I awoke at sunrise everyone was asleep, apparently completely exhausted.

They started facing northeast in front of the pole, the women to the
535 right of the shaman. When standing still the women, with arms

535 linked, kept up rhythmic motion by bending the knees slightly and leaning forward. The men bent at the waist until the torso was horizontal, arms hanging down like apes, and made the same motion by bending at the knees. The motion was so very apelike that I wondered if the monkeys didn't enter in some way into the scheme of things. I was told that formerly they were people and when the flood came they climbed to the tops of trees, and have continued to live there ever since, gradually changing shape. When the circuiting around the pole began the men followed one another after the shaman, and the women made the outer circuit with the right hand on the shoulder of the woman in front. The right foot was stamped on the off beat.

Art

184
517 Of the arts, dancing, music, carving, painting, modeling, and perhaps drama, are present among the Yaruros. Every individual in the group participates in some form of artistic expression, even in connection with objects whose function is practical rather than aesthetic; each individual attempts to make them "tsaimui", that is "pretty", "good." Great care is taken in making baskets, pottery, arrows, and bows. Singing and dancing are universally practiced also. No individual feels that his voice is too poor to participate in
531 the singing and no individual is shy about dancing. However, social
462 custom limits the activities of the men and women in the plastic arts.
323 Pottery making is the prerogative of the women. The carving of stamps and realistic figures from the asabache is done by the men. The low relief carvings on gourd rattles are the special products of the shamans. Of all these activities it is this last that comes closest to being inspired.

531
285 The making of baskets is woman's work. They take great pride in their workmanship, and make a conscious effort to reproduce various designs by employing several weaves. The patterns are rather limited, but then this may be due to the limited number of baskets which they make (fig. 21).

531
323 Pots are frequently broken in transport, but there is also very little use for them. One or two pots per family are all that is required. The porousness of the material is desired in order to keep the water cool. These pots are generally decorated with crude broad bands of red paint. The pottery decoration is reproduced in figure 22.

531
322 The women like to paint their faces. For this purpose the men make wooden stamps (pl. 22, *1*), which are dipped in red-ocher paste or a blue dye and the design is impressed upon the face. The designs are entirely geometric and rectilinear.

301
317 The asabache figures are of special interest because of their remarkable realism. The asabache is a black igneous material found

301 in small pieces on the banks of the Capanaparo. It is about as hard
317 to work as coal. It has much the same appearance. The carving
tool is the ordinary knife which, in some cases, may be a broken
532 matchete. Yet, with such crude implements, they are able to pro-
301 duce exquisite realistic carvings of birds, fish, and other animals.
These are generally perforated and strung into a necklace. Each woman possesses at least a few of these carved figures, the number depending on the industry of her husband. No symbolical significance seems to be attached to either the painting, the carving, or to any of the designs appearing on the stamps. There may be some magical meaning to them, but all inquiries were answered in the negative.

791 The gourd rattles present an entirely different manifestation. In
787 the first place, only the male shaman can use a rattle. It is, in fact,
532 the badge of shamanism. All the designs appearing on the rattle
534 represent what he sees during his visits to Kuma's land. These carv-
ings are made with the point of any sharp instrument, which cuts in just deep enough to expose the lighter colored inner wood of the rattle.

To become a shaman one must dream of Kuma and the other gods, and show his people that he can communicate with the godheads when occasion demands. Perhaps looking at shamanistic practices objectively this may mean primarily that the would-be shaman has a fertile imagination and some artistic talent. I do not think that we ought to doubt that he believes that he actually sees and talks with Kuma, Itciai, and the rest of the spirit world.

791 He commemorates his dreams on the sacred rattle, carving out on
its surface the figures which appear in his dreams. Kuma and
787 Hatchawa dominate the decorations on the gourd rattles, and since
532 those collected came from the Puaná moiety, Puaná is also por-
776 trayed. In plate 24[1] various views of one of these gourd rattles are
shown. The large geometric figure dominating the first drawing represents Kuma; the smaller one Hatchawa. Rotating the rattle toward the left we discover Puaná, the Snake.

534 In connection with these rattles one of the most interesting aesthetic
features is the filling in of space. All of the specimens collected and
517 shown in figures 25, 26, and 27[2] demonstrate this. In watching Lan-
daeta at work I asked him why he did so; his reply was that a properly decorated rattle must be "tsaimui", that is "good", "proper", "beautiful."

Music

534 One would suspect that the Yaruros would have borrowed some of
177 the musical instruments employed by the Llaneros. Among the lat-

[1] [See category 116, end plate 14 --- Analyst]
[2] [See category 116, pp. 242-243 --- Analyst]

534 179 ter the harp is very popular. Flutes and whistles are also made by the Llaneros, but the gourd rattle, which consists of a small gourd containing coarse grains of sand, or seeds, is the instrument employed by the Yaruro shaman. Music, therefore, is produced by singing to the accompaniment of the rattle if the singer happens to be the
[512] shaman. Since the men are prohibited from singing and whistling during the daytime there is no freedom of expression in this way. During the entire time that I stayed with these people I never heard anyone begin a song except the shaman. Whenever, for purposes of recording, I asked some of the men to hum some of the tunes they refused to do so.

533 Although there are a variety of tunes, the music apparently consists of one phrase repeated four times for each stanza of the song. Each stanza is begun in a high falsetto. The second phrase is sung an octave lower, and the last phrase, therefore, is four octaves lower
[462] than the first. The woman shaman, however, has a song slightly different than the male shaman's song and their pattern seems to begin at the lower end of the scale for each phrase and repeating each phrase in the same range as the first. In both cases, each phrase covers the entire scale of six notes. The tempo is 1-2 time, with the accent on the off-beat, but at the height of the ceremonies the songs are syncopated. The intensity of the songs, the melodious quality of the phrases, and the oral repetition produces an effect similar to the negro spirituals.

It is difficult, if not impossible, for one to sing in tune with the Yaruros. Their scale is different from ours and they seem to have quarter tones. In addition to this peculiarity, they never seem to sing in a full voice, not in a falsetto, but in a style of their own, difficult for one trained in European music to master quickly. Of course the theory is that it is the gods and the ancestral spirits who composed both the music and the words and the people singing behind the shaman merely imitate these inspired songs.

533 The Yaruros have only one word to signify dancing and singing:
535 "tohiwahimerekidi". The shaman, who is the leader in both these arts, is called "dancer" or "singer." In actual practice dancing is subordinate to singing, much as gesturing is subordinate to speaking among ourselves. Perhaps the correct translation of this word would be closer if rendered as "singing."

Dancing as an independent art does not exist. When it is practiced it is almost an outflow of singing. Singing may be done without dancing but dancing without singing is impossible. Every dancer sings, though every singer does not necessarily dance.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Venezuela SS1

SUMMARY

Y
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The Yaruros are river nomads, practicing no agriculture and keeping no domestic animals except the dog. Their material culture is meager, being limited to what they can carry in their canoes as they wander from one camp to another. Expecting extermination within a short time, they have turned to life after death for consolation.

We know practically nothing of the Yaruros as they were several hundred years ago. According to the missionary accounts they had a simpler culture than the other tribes inhabiting the region of the delta of the Apure. However, lacking descriptions of the Yaruros, we cannot make sound comparisons. There is very little in the modern Yaruro culture which resembles that of the Otomacos and Tamanacos as described in the missionary accounts.

The things that distinguish the Yaruros from Racionales (as the "civilized" people are known) are lack of permanent abodes, no domestic animals, and no agriculture. The things that are common to both groups are the bow and arrow, the canoe and paddle, and hunting. Among the Yaruros there is a closer communal life than among the Racionales.

In the material culture of the Yaruros we can discover but few elements which have been borrowed from the Europeans. Of these, the use of iron is the most important. Formerly the Yaruros had only bone and wood out of which to shape arrow points, but now iron has displaced these other primitive materials. The use of iron knives, an occasional ax, a hammer, and a heavy iron hoe used by the women on their digging sticks, has, of course, been introduced by the traders. In exchange for these elements the Yaruros have given to the Racionales the bow and arrow, the canoe, the gourd rattle, basketry, and pottery.

Y
V
105
SS1

The Yaruro in recent years has been even further removed from European culture than he was several centuries ago. The policy of the late dictator, Gen. Juan Vicente Gomez, of disarming the Venezuelans to keep down revolutions, left the people of the llanos without any ammunition, even though they might have old shotguns and rifles. Guns and ammunition were smuggled in at a premium and were far beyond the means of the Llanero peasant and cowboy. As a result, those who were not attached to the household of some powerful absentee rancher were forced to eke out a living with bow and arrow.

The world depression and the cattle monopoly of General Gomez affected the Llaneros also in two ways. Cattle could no longer be sold at a profitable price and the workers were forced either to abandon the country and withdraw to the cities or to Guiana, to become farmers, or to live in an even more primitive style than they

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Venezuela SS1

Y 105 SS1 were accustomed to. That is, they had to fall back on a life some-
what similar to that of the Yaruros. Today one finds close to some
river bank a little hut, the home of one of these Llaneros. In such a
household one may find a man, his wife, and children. Their
only possessions are what they can gather and make from their
environment. They may have a garden in which they raise plantains
and bananas, a little maize, and yucca. But the soil of the Llaneros
is not fit for fertile gardens, so these people have to depend on hunt-
Y ing and fishing for most of their food. These are the people with
186 whom the Yaruro have most contact. There is nothing in their
houses and nothing in their mode of living to attract the Yaruro.
As a matter of fact the Yaruros themselves made the comment that
a Racionale's house was dirty and full of vermin and insect life,
whereas they, preferring to live on the open beaches behind no shel-
ter, had the advantage of moving about from one clean camp site
Y to another.

177 How much the Yaruros have borrowed from Spanish lore and religious ideas it is impossible to say on a basis of our knowledge. In their religious ideas one might guess that the conception of the existence of an evil spirit and the personality of India Rosa may be the two strongest elements. All these, however, were introduced a long time ago and with the breaking off of communication with the missionaries during the past century they have become weaker and weaker. Today India Rosa is confused with Kuma. The evil spirit appears in only one or two legends and plays hardly any part in the shamanistic performances.

The tenor of the Yaruro culture is typically conservative. Their reaction to any European idea is one of suspicion and fear. For instance, they will not raise domestic animals or learn to cultivate gardens. The Yaruros had their chance, they say, when the world was created, and refused to take it. Now there is only one thing left
Y to them: to live as their ancestors have done and to die.

181 This patient acceptance of their lot is the most characteristic attitude of the Yaruros. They have abandoned all hope of maintaining themselves against the destructive forces of the world around them, and even of dying out peaceably. Their only consolation lies in their firm belief that Kuma is waiting for them in the other world. In other words, not unlike many other American aboriginal groups, they have built for themselves an indestructible heaven, and one from which foreign peoples will be excluded. There they will recapture their ancient mode of life. They will have plenty of food, clothing, horses, and the companionship of their relatives. Kuma's land is a world of bliss, an expression, really, of the living Yaruro's yearning to be allowed to hunt, fish, and live peacefully with each

181 other. Since they cannot attain such a life in this world they are looking forward to the day when all of them can be together again in Kuma's land.

LANGUAGE

194 The Yaruros' phonetics do not seem to be different from the ordinary Spanish. It seemed quite easy to take down almost anything by using the ordinary Spanish alphabet. It is characterized by strongly accented final syllables. It seems to be strongly vocalized.

193 Much has been said about a man's language and a woman's language in connection with the various South American tribes. As will be shown, many words, especially the verbs, have a different final ending for each sex speaking. These sometimes may be only a simple change from an "e" to an "i", or may involve two or three syllables. The following notes and text are reproduced without any attempt at analysis.

GRAMMAR

djbu'h mere'kidi' kode'h
speak I I

areke'ni keno'h oa' kode'h
I speak with this man

hanau' mene'h kede'h
you come here (imp.)

meani'bude'h kede'h kode'h
I speak with you

ᵃyutaerembudene'h ke
what did you say

ontara' ok'we
teach me

ontarakwe'
teach me (explain to me)

have drunk I
ᵃyuiri ko'deh ero' hętatih
I drunk (rum) much

hara'merikode'h ero'
drink I rum

harameri'mene'h ero'
you drink rum

harato'marikødeh abeko' ero'
shall drink tomorrow rum
(I shall drink tomorrow)

hurato' merikode'h abeko'
I eat tomorrow

abe pa'meri' kode'h
I work

abepa'to meri' kode'h abeko'
(I shall work tomorrow)

amerikode'h huraria'
I was eating

hurare' kodeh' no'mene'h
ate I yesterday

ameri' kode'h tibato' (huraria'
I shoot arrow to eat—
ábako)
tomorrow

podameh
turtle

ameri
("fine")

tainekøde'h abako'
I hunt tomorrow

gondeh po yej depo'h Yaruro
There came forth wife of Fe Yaruro
pume'h
people

ndo'h
when there was nothing

ndiah mbuadedo ninye gondo'
sun setting night
or sun sets
jahe's

kode′ pia′ndi′ I also	moi dą tco going to sleep
mbaurikidi′ hatci′ pau′h I go far away	djitö′rikidi ko′deh I am sick

MAN AND WOMAN LANGUAGE

(MAN SPEAKING)	(WOMAN SPEAKING)
hurari′kudi kode′h ♂ (kudi with verb, kodeh alone)	hurake′ kodeh ♀ I eat
hambi′ pa′ kode′h ♂ I am working	hambi pa′ ke′ kode′ ♀ I am working
hai! ♂ (ri—seems to be suffix when man speaks) look!	tadehi′ ♀ look
muapa′rikidi ♂ I sleep	mua pa′ke′ ♀ I sleep
ngoheri aneh ♂ Let us go	ngohe′anoh ♀ Let us go
nguarikodi ♂ I have	ngua′ke ♀ I have
ntohi′nua′taneh ♂ Let us sing	ntohį′nua′tanoh ♀ Let us sing
hura′ria′ hura′taneh ♂ Let us eat (invitation)	hura′ria′ hura′tanoh ♀ Let us eat (invitation)
garimpa′rikidihe′ ♂ I am in love	garimpari nikwe ♀ I am in love
daba′derikidi ♂	daba′dedi′ kodeh ♀
tiade′ ♂ who is it	tea′dido′ ♀ who is it
yude′pende′ ♂ the woman is there	yude′pendi′ ivi ♀ the woman is there
ui jorokwa ♂ give me water	ui jorokwe′ ♀ give me water
tamatcǫ′humbririkidi ♂ I am hungry	tamatcǫ hambrike ♀ I am hungry
mboørikidi ♂	mbaø′ke ♀
hoj′ hano′h dibe′ ♂ there is a man	hoj′ hanah ibe ♀ there is a man
ndarikune′ hohedi′ ♂ I see a man there	ndakuni′ hohedi′ ♀ I see a man
nwuana′kwi′ jokoda′ bring me a pot (jar)	nwuanakwa′ jokoda′ bring me a pot (jar)
hanande′ bidi he (no) does not come	hana′nde′ kuni′ he (no) does not come

(MAN SPEAKING)	(WOMAN SPEAKING)
jamba' hanamebede' he comes to-day	jamba' jadohandemebidi he comes to-day
tcuto'rikide I am cold	tcuto'. ke I am cold
tcuto'rine'h you are cold (♂ speaking to ♂)	tcuto'me'h (♂ to ♀ or ♀)
tcuto'me·h (♂ speaking to ♀)	
tcumato' maibe' 'hambo'ke I shall make songs because tamatcǫ' I am hungry	tcumata'rǫ' hambø'ke tamatcǫ
hųnaipemedekudime' I kill you ♂ to ♂	huna pa' kema' ♀ to ♂
hunai peigne kema' I kill you ♂ to ♀	hunai peigne kema' ♀ to ♀
humbe pa' ne' she is working	humbe pa' ke' she is working
nyugu' nambi anyikowi do you want to smoke sister?	jorokwa' ui harapake parapia give me some water I am thirsty there is no dekia' breeze
parapia' manna' breeze is coming	
ngua'rikode' oi nguari'kodi have I jaguimę' salt	
taį ka' de ♂ he is walking	taį ka' di ♀ he is walking
taį ka ne she is walking	taį ka ke ♀ she is walking
tiahą'·de tibato'? whose bow is it	tiahą'·di tibato'? (i. e., important)
hohą'·ndi tibato'. this is the man bow	
tcoeia' pia'nde It is cooked, it is ready	tcoeią' pandi hurariara' udi!
tcunia'de' tibato' bow is finished	
abatcide'·tcadedi all right	abatcidi tcadedi good
here hana'wu·ghi! come here	here hana'he ghi! come here

(MAN SPEAKING)	(WOMAN SPEAKING)
mbaøwu yude'he' go away there	mbaø'he yudehe'
eameri kude ainiką' hinani I like to laugh much	eagni'k'e ainiką'
not ainikądeme eamerikude I don't like to laugh	eadenyiką ainiką
eamerikudi unneha' I like the basket	eanyike unneha'
eamerikudi unne ohahe' that	
yohahe' this	
ea'demerikudi I don't like	eadenyike
tana'høpat' Why?	(same)
nyutanide? how many are there?	nyutanidi?
henari yudape ikuri many there turtles	
nųa'hana'kwe hę'! bring me honey	nuahanakwa' hę'!
nua'hana'kwe mo.! bring me bees	
hurapa'rikude mo hé! I want to eat honey	hurapa'ke· mo he'
jipe'h mbaøhapa anne'? When do we go?	jipe·h mbaø hapa' anno ?
jambuą' nbaø Now in a moment	jambuą' mbaø'.
nyohe' hanna' he' hannadie'no Nura (I say) come here a moment	
jipęh di daba'dame' Where is (object around house)	jo'hedi'! It is here Take it
tanna' eame'? what do you want	eake' tibu' kaiąmi gate'ku buy for me , cloth
ado' tanna' eame' do you want more?	
mo·=matahei, wasp (bee?)	
mo·hoį hive	
tiahą'ndiode jokoda'? whose is that pot (question)	tia'ha'mehambe' pame' jokoda' whose is it a little working tinaja (answer)

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(MAN SPEAKING)	(WOMAN SPEAKING)
tiaha′·de unne′? (basket) whose basket is it	tiahą′·di unne′?
kaią· unne′di It is mine mine basket {Hą′.de is possessive [as verb]}	kaią′·di unne
kaią kerahą·de′ unne′øde′	kaią kera′hą′·di unne′øde′
kaią mine hą·nde	kaią hą′·di′
dibią·di yours	same
hoa′ handi his	same
ią′ hąndi hers	same
ibią·di ours	same
dibią ditcuni′ yours	same
ina′hari′ theirs ♂	same
ina′hą.di theirs ♀	same
jorokwi′ uni! give me water	jorokwa′ uni!
jorokwi jokoda′! pot	jorokwa! jokoda! pot
he′dano hura′ria huį′! Prepare the food	Heda′no ike′ huraria′ huj′!
nguane meneh I have	ngua′dene menerǫ′ we have
nguadi hudi (man) he has	nguadne oderǫ they (♂) have
nguane hine′ (woman) she has	nguanei ineh they (♀) have
nguari ane′h (anoneh) all have	
nguari′ merikodeh nomene I had yesterday (imp.)	nguari hiniri aneh (anoneh)
nguari′ merineh	nguari hinirinene′h menerǫ′
nguari′ meri-hudi′	nguari gnine′ inerǫ′ (woman)
nguari′ gnine′ hine′	nguari on oderǫ′
nguato′ merikode′ abeko I shall have (future)	nguato′ gnine′ ineh
nguato′ merineh	nguato′ n·oderǫ′ (They men)
nguato′ meri hudi	nguato′ n·derǫ iembo′ (They men and women)
nguato′ hiniri aneh (anoneh)	
nguato′ hinirineneh (menerǫ′)	

193 birahanaii kudi kaią uni heade'nenoke kaią uni
bibewa' gue dirǫ' pą' dekudi
mbē'rotonikudi
tcade' venoka' uni
ndøpa' venenoką'
kode' kedirǫ' oke' udi
kode'ke' guaraenemeri tciai
hatciri anaike ngnara gua meri
tcade' mbaririrakwe' ndila haini
virą' nirǫ' da dibaidirǫ'
virą' nirǫ' da tihoirǫ'
ngųodo dirǫ' da hanairǫ' tari hanairǫ
Jode'di pea'ruh dide' huį' duria' paranime'hedi' ado'tcemi·
before afterwards other

kanetci'mo kare'itcikania'me kaneitci'-nyu'anni kanetcini kareni·
karetciri ado'tiemi tcitcio'ni tarui'pa kania'me tarupa' wyuani'
taru'pa taranih ado'tcemi! keį'tao taǫ mo'tcine keįtaǫ taǫ·
kenia'me keįtaǫtaǫ mo taranish hado'tcemi ta'u tcuni'· bainte'.
tomatcu' huriarapa' kodeh
I am going to eat because I am hungry

huríara'wi
answer—eat

tcade'dirę' pumeh
very to be often left out

me' paria' pime

nyi paria pinyi

Janika'
sort of devil, living beyond Kema—causes sickness
tcai.nde
bad

♂
paria'pinyi oteh paria'pigni oteh tsunia' oteh
Kuma' all the people world chief (governs)

hado'kanemo' otech paria'pi'nyi nyipariapinyi kuma'
hado'kanemo' oteh Itciai paria'pi'me Hado'kanemo oteh
hatcaun patca'un [illegible]riapime haø haø Kuma haø' pariapinyi'
grandson Kuma

haø' hado'kanemo' Itciai' haø' maria'no' Itciai haø
(born with Yaruros)

Hatchawa calls Yaruros "anyi"
anyi (brothers) (younger brother)

Jaruros call Hatchawa "aji·h"
(older brother)

Itciai' called "aji'"

Itciai' calls Yaruros "anyi'"

193 Yaruros call Puana′ "aia′" (father)

Yaruros call Kuma "aį" (mother)

Kuma calls Yaruros "kaią hao′"
my son (but Yaruro says to Yaruro oaf′)

Puana′ says "kaią hao′"
my son

kanındani hambø′ "kaja uni"
Poor fellows dying out there (Kuma speaking)

manna′ diroką′ hambø′ piøji
this is my earth (Kuma speaking)

ngua′kedodeh huraria′ pain une′ha′
I have food for my children (Kuma says this to shaman)

habe′ dirǫ′da′ manna′hinidirǫ′da′·h tcade′hinidirǫ′da′ unihidirǫ
My children are living in the earth, come be born in my land young again
(Kuma speaking)

hoedi′ oteh
Smoke, chief! (expression when offering tobacco smoke to Itcial. Done all the time when smoking. To Puana′ also.)

tcadenane′ oteh

tcadeni′
give us good life

hoedi oteh kie′tarawø′· oteh
take to Puaná chupa cigaro (nambi tobacco sometimes added)

hoedi oteh paua′pigni′ kie′tarakaią aį′ kuma
addressing

hoedi′ oteh paria′ peine′ kieterawø tcadediane jadu′
(to Hatchawa)=good luck, etc., good line jambu′s now

minne′ kaią aii
my elder brother

kaią agni
younger brother

anyi kǫ′bwį′
Hatchawa calls all Yaruros (brothers and sisters)

PARTS OF THE BODY

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Abdomen	ak	Foot	taho·h
Arm	itclhu′h	Hair	kõ′
Breast	maito′h	Hand	itci·h
Chin	ghudi·h	Head	to-be′·h
Ear	tana-h	Knee	utcatu′·h
Elbow	ma-tiy′i	Leg	tahu′·h
Eye	ndatco′h	Lip	tcabi′·h
Face	tcama-h	Nose	mbu′·h
Finger	itcisia′h	Palm	itcima′·h

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NUMBERS

1	keriame′h
2	nywari′h
3	tarari′h
4	hadotcomi′h
5	keinetcibo′
6	keinetcinikeriame′h
7	keinetcininywari′h
8	keinetcinitarari′h
9	keinetcinihadotcomi′h
10	itcisune′h
11	taropeh keriame′h
12	taropeh nywari′h
13	taropeh tarari′h
14	taropeh hadotcomi′h
15	keinetaitahotcunei′h
16	keinetaitahokeriame′h
17	keinetaitahonydrari′h
18	keinetaitaho tarari′h
19	keinetaitaho hadotcomi′h
20	tarsone′h
Many	ina′

To count: Start with thumb of left hand, continue with right hand, left foot, and right foot.

POINTS OF THE COMPASS

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North	marupano′h
East	jaboropano′·h
South	tcura′pano′h
West	tciaru′pano′·h
Earth	dabu′h
Moon	gupene′·h
Morning star	mbuae′
Sun	do·h
Water	uį′·
River	bea′·h
Brook	bca-hį′
Fire	konde′

VOCABULARY

Arrow	tcito′
Ax	hibe′
Babu	aril′h
Barbaco	para′
Boy (small)	pume′h (tokwį)
Bow	tibato′, tcibato′
Cayman	nyiakanką′
Canoe	ja′ra′
Cattle	faka
Changuango	ipe′i′h
Cold	tcito′i′h
Cut	todeha′
Dark	baghune′
Deer	mbu′a
Dog	areri′h
Dream	kanehoi′h
Drink	hara′
Eat	hura′
Galapago	tcin dame′h
Girl (small)	icį tohwį′
Good, pretty	tsaimuį′
Good girl	tcį tsaimui tcara′ tsaimui′
Hammock	buri′
Horse	jai′
Knife	konumia′h
Large	tcara′
Long, tall	nqua′ tǫ′
Macanilla	bai′
Make	tsuapa′
Maize	yukata′
Man (old)	ote′ mai′
Machete	hapene′
Night	ine ri′h
Paddle	taento′
Pig	obuya′
Pole (thin)	to/o huhwa′
Quick	hanape′
Rainy season	uį ro′
Rattle	tei′
Shadow	tcaivi′
Shelter, house	hǫ′/h
Small, little	tokwį
Summer (dry season)	hanno′
Sun	do′
Terracai	pudame′h
Tobacco	mambi′/h
Turtle (large)	ikwii
Thick	anna′
Thin	hubua′

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Today	jamba'
When	kanemo'
Wild, shy	naitca'
Woman	ieį'
Woman (old)	ieį' tehi'
Warm water	uį' kewita'
Water (cold)	uį' tcutcia'
Water	uį'
Yucca	pae'h
Yucca (sweet) (edible yucca).	huruara' pa'eh
Yucca (bitter)	pa'eh kara

ORIGIN LEGEND

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Joro' (irokwi—give one) Kuma-unijoro' maę joro' kodeh tcune'ih joro'

give kuma boy give speech give I all give

hųi'hą nimbø'ote'bureh maę' a'no'neh hinani! jabuą

afterwards speak everyone (all) language we all many now

tokwęi'mi nomi nyo hudi'ka nyo ibi' kuma' hine·

few very before my afterwards my to us kuma she

tcade'ni ko'nøtu'h ado' kønøtø'h maęjoro kønøtø'h mana

good very that we live (on this earth) more live (yes) (I live here) language give (words) live (yes) (here) come

hineh Kuma-di'· hatciri uihana'ui' mana'bedi' ibe' ea'aį ya'

she kuma with far away water much water comes us weeping mother for (my)

ndairø'pe mana' øni' diro' naa' hao' habe' dirǫ ᵃtohę'

yonder comes boy born her son a moment just, merely itself, born is singing

ta'hve' di be' tave· di be ate' bureh mana' dirǫ' ote bure'h

unknown with you (people) among all comes is being born (family) all

sade dirǫ' mua'henidirǫ' ea kni' one' uni' nua'h deheini'

are well is rich weeping lacks doll boy are poor

jai pututairą' nua'h dirǫ tcere'h paria pa'·h̋ keheni tokur'

horse saddle has silver making small

pariapa' habe' dirǫ tię' tia kę'·tia' tibo'hida' jode'·h kaią'

making all remains she will give name when he is born in her land has name goods are kept this my

hødi' jode'·h fa'ka kaią' uni fa'ka jai kaia' uni' huraria'

is or are this cattle my boy cattle horses my boy food

kaia' uni' taų kaia' uni' tcade'·h kaia' uni' hina'dirǫ

my boy shoes my boy good many

hidake' handi'para' nua'me'·h' tokwę pariapa' jodi'h

waiting for that is rich few is making this

tcere' tokwę hi'na patce'tciara faka tokwę' jai tokwę'

silver few few, horse

jambua' tiogi uįmbo' manna huraką' knidanni pume'n kode'

now here with a woman comes eats feels sorry Yaruros we

ote'h uni' manna' hąhą' puana'h uni n-gua ke·nuą' fakanguą'ke

chief boy comes yes I have (woman speaking)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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huratø′	will eat
uni′	boy
fakanua′	
tønøndi′	what is (interrogative)
huriara′	food
hønandi′	what (inter.)
g^{a}ynuku′	cheese
hønandi	
nambi	tobacco
hønandi′	
huo′	
uni hą′	for the boy
tcǫ′	(fish)
ngohe′ a′no·h	let us go (woman speaking)
tu′kayø	paint
^{a}tohinuą′tano	ring let us
ero′	
hanam	
tohewa′nhapano′	
witcotanoh	let us bathe (♀)
tibo′hina′tano	let us dress
nambihe′	tobacco
joroku′n	give me
pumehami	for the people
joroku′n	give me
nambihe′	tobacco
nienepa′h	might
dibeh	already ♀
ai′nika′tø	we will laugh
heba′hur	
heba′heba′	married married
hebahųr	marry
tciadani	give him clothing
garapa′	laughing
tokwę nene	small very
garimpa′	in love
hebahine	marry (♂)
tcadeni	do well
tcadeni′	(treat man well)
hapa wį′	
jorohį′	give
tibo′	clothing
jorohį′	give
taų′wei	shoes
jorohį′	
ero′	
jorohį′	
huraria′	food
jorohį′	give
ta′mbe	
huratto′ni	eat
garmpaį′	
nimoma′	
konombi′	live there ♀
naia′hǫ′ru	my house
hai′hø′	
tcidø′	hunt
haihø′	
aihe	deer
hambu′ tometcǫ′	dead with hunger hunger
hai′hø′	
dome′·	turtle
haihø′	
tcį	
haihø′	
tatu′timi	iguana
haibe′	deer
garimpa′	in love
mehį′	woman
tcad ni heba į′	treat well wife
kode′	
na′ia′aį′	mother
kode′	I his
ikidi	mother
ai′^{a}m	father
kaįya ha′o	my son
kaia hao′	son
kaią a	younger brother
kaią′ dike′	it is mine
kaią hudi dike′	this is mine
haba′rikudi	seems far to me
barike	I go
yude yu′ha	there for a moment
jabo′tca	wait
abe′rikidi′	for me a little here
pumeida	The Yaruros
ondi′ha amerikidi	I accompany
^{a}goha′ diane	we go (or let us go)
hana	come (you)
^{a}guaha′rineh	go with me
^{m}baøtø′·h	we go
^{a}ua′na pe.	walk quickly
gniene	night
pa′ri	gather
gnuta′ipe ine·h	what shall we do
^{m}baø′pa′ne·h	
mlaø′ rikudi	I go
ena′	shout
tlatci′·	far
høta′ni	let us go
^{a}guoha′riane′·h	you do not want to go with me
^{m}buatø′·h	go far
habatci′	I don't want
mbaø′dawu′·h	do not go
ha′nawu′·h	come quickly
nimbø′	let us
tcatane′·h	talk
kanawu′·h	come quickly
ume′·h	family
hanawu′·h	come quickly
kerama′i	brother-in-law
tainta′ne′·h	let us go hunting
huriara′	food
aitane′·h	gather food
toįwą′tane·h	let us sing
hota′bure′·h	all
tcune′ine′·h	every one (all)
pa·^{n}chi′·h	women also
cu′·hu′·ni	give to all
toiną	dance
pavidi·h	say so
hebawa′·tø·h	let us help
tanu wę′	let us help these people
we′nawu′·h	come sing
haba′rikidi	wait there (a moment)
yabu′tca	I go there (a moment)
hatci′·vi.	very far
hatci′ri kudua′	I came very far
jambųa′	to-day
^{m}baø′	I go
^{m}baø′ak i′	I go

kaįa′	tciri′rupe′·h	habe′merikudi	kni′maia′	tcunįa′di
	for my country	I stop there		it is ended

nawadape′ndi′·h	jipe′·hndi′·h	piuji′n·h	^{a}daudikone′·h	^{a}dąinawu′·h
is lost	where is it	it is here	I don't find it	look for it

^{a}gųadenawu′·h	jųa′	tanandid	wana′kwi′·h	jode′·h	habe′kidah
come see it	which	whose is it	bring it to me	to see	a moment

manna′di·h	hatji′·h	wenahu′·h	we′nahu·h	bagum′wu′·h
coming now	far	go fast	(note change of accent)	run

tcniadi′·h	da′tukun′·h	wana′kųi·	awimąi′	hana′wu′·h	agnima′i
finished	I go see	bring me	nephew	come	brother

a-mų′i	kahąi′	ka′ami′	kahąi	kahį amu′į	kahawi′tokwį′
father	mother	sister	aunt	grandson	my niece

mbaø′rikidi′	awa′	muha′rine′	mbaøtø′·h	hida′kųi′·h
I go	yes now	come no of course	that we go	wait for me

męandimbą′ø	merikidi′	himu-baøtane himu	jabuka′wø′·h
I go with you		we go together	take

jabubaø′wu′·h	^{a}joa^{a}guabaø′bu	ka-ji′	hudi′	heda′no	tibato′
go first	carry this	brother	he	made	bow

tcito′h	kodeh	ait atø.	Kaji′rdi′	narapania′riki	tcara
arrow (harpoon)	for me	to shoot (arrow)	My brother	showed me taught me	canoe

edadidiko′	kajiriki.	Kaįaya′	kaįaį′	idepa′	nia′rikųdi	uni′
make	my brother	my	my mother	born	I	boy

andi′kemerø′h	jaruperu′h	huni	hide′piarikudi	uni	araniki
there	large pasture	boy	there I was born	boy	there

kaį′ aį′.	Mbøritari	kødı	aji′repanabapanį′a	tcuni′
my mother	I shall make	hammock	my brother taught me to weave hammock	all

tcara apenikudi	kaįya′ maya′.	Kaiąya′	kaįhaini′	kambųa hini
I made canoe	I alone	my	mother	died

kodeh	tøkwı′ndu	himbų′a.	Kaįaya′	ami′	e^{a}ba′riki.
I	I was small still		my	sister	took care of me

Inijoronikwi	huriara′	kaįaya	eba′riki	ote′ piarø′h	hambø
She gave me food			took care of me	afterwards I was large	my

kaiaya.
mother died

(Free Translation)

Kuma talked about the boy (Hatchawa) to whom she gave everything. Afterwards everyone (the other spirits, ancestors) spoke. Kuma said to us, "We are few now but formerly we were many. I come from very far away. I come from very far away across much water. He this man came to us. A little boy and his mother (my son and wife) are weeping. Both of them are well. They are rich but weeping. The boy does not have a doll. He has a horse, saddle, and silver. I will give the man a name when he comes to my land. I will give cattle to him my boy, horses, food, and shoes. I am waiting for my boy. Now, I will eat with my people, the Yaruros, good food, cheese, smoke tobacco, for my boy. Let us go, let us bathe, let us dress. Give me tobacco for the people, give me tobacco. We shall laugh. Give my people clothing. Treat this man well. He will give you clothing, shoes, food. He will live there with us in my house, to hunt deer, turtle, iguana. Marry a woman, treat the wife well. I go away for a moment, wait for me here a little. Go with me. We shall walk away quickly in the night and gather what we need. Let us shout far, let us go. Let us talk, come quickly. Family, come quickly, brother-in-law. Let us go hunting, let us gather food, all of us, everyone. The woman also. He will give to all something. He says let us help these people. Come sing, come sing. I go there to his land very far away. I have come very far today. Now I go to his country. I stop there. Here is this land. It is here. I don't find it, I look for it, whose is it? Bring it to me to see. I am coming now, far, I can travel very fast, run, it is finished." (One of the Yaruro spirits speaking.) My nephew come, brother, father, mother, sister and grandson, niece. I go with you. My brother made a bow for me and an arrow to shoot. My brother showed me how to make a canoe. I was born there in a large pasture. I shall make a hammock for my mother. My brother taught me to make a canoe then I was left alone. My mother died. I was smaller then. My sister took care of me. She gave me food. She took care of me. Afterwards my mother died.

BUILDING A CANOE

Icara'	ghia'tume wu'·h	kʷa hu'	ngua'hę	torena'	tcu'ruwøh
canoe	I open	burn it	chikuria	canoe	plane it on outside

kuavø'h	mbatci'	gua wų'·h	mbatci'ⁿdi	tcinįa'	ado'	Kanemo'
burn it	ready	plane it inside	is ready	is ended	move	other

hapapa'rikidi'	kaiąya'	kaįyami	ab ko'	de'rikudi'	nde'hano
is making	my	for me	tomorrow	it is so	throw down (knocked down)

habako'	mbųi'tcį	tcaratokwø'	tcarato'·h	mbąø'	har'rikidi
tomorrow	small	small canoe	(the canoe tree)	I	go away

tcarahi'	tcunaru'h	mbaø'rikidi	tcarupe'mu	mbaø
canoe	is finished	I go away	yonder	I go away

garu'paime'rikidi'	hamba'rikidi'	konroi' merikidi	gnųa'rindie'.
I come back	I am here still	I live where I go	two days

mannaime'dikude'	Hatcihorikidi	habe' merikidi	honi'pe
I come	I go far	I delay much	there where I go

kau jį'yu'puę'	kaią pume'h	na'bari kudi'	ka ami'aparikidi
my older brother	my family	I am here	I have my sister

kaįa'aya'	kaįa'ya	hade'h	kaįaya	kai'	kaiąya'	oma' kaią'ya
my father	my uncle (elder)		my	aunt		granddaughter

kera'	kaiąya	Habi'	tokwį'	kaį'rke'rami	kaiąya	hadimui
sister-in-law		little girl		my brother-in law		younger uncle

hiamųi	kaįyaba'	ebane	Kaįya ba'	hawi mi'	eba'	joro'bøhę'
grandchild (♂)	my girl child	is married	my girl	husband	married	give to her

hurarią'	joro'bøhę'	tibo'	ebabuhe' ♂	tcaidani'	———
food	give her	goods	marry her (ebabįį♀])		do not do harm

hapade	tcohedi	tibo′	naia′ tibo′	joha′di	tcere	garempa′
	take ♂	goods				

kodeh	kaiąieį′	garempa′	tcade′kaią′iaį′	turusi	hadi	"jobedi
	(♂)			necklace	take	take

turusi′	johedi′	mahu′	johe′di	tahe′	b————	mbaurikidi
		plate				I am going away

ha′deme mbaunkidi keramaį mbaunkidi animaį baun hidi

aiamaį′	mbauke	kaį aį	mbaukø′hømatį′	hąhą′	hąhą′
	good bye	my mother			

hą′hą′	na—paru′	mana′i	ume′.
	when	are you	coming

Kuma′	jorohį	ebahį	tune′ine′	ebai i į′	eba′imeneno′
(speaking)	give	marry	go away all	is married	married

tca·ni′	ebai′	hati′ baø	mbauta′no′·	hati	tokwę′ime
		far away go	of course (♀)		very few

huniha′tcin	dabu′ide′	kono	kaįa′ uni	tcuna′ne′	tcuini′ha′
is land of the boy		live	my boy	go away all	all

jode′	tcuni	tcin	kaį′a′ uni·	mbau′ke ♀	ayumaį′	mbauke′	ayamaį′
this	all this	land					

mbau′ke ayamaį′ mbauki′ ademaį hademaį mbauke′

nαparu′	mbaumeneno′	habe′ke	habeko	baune	naparu′baubim
when	let us go	not yet	let us go	tomorrow	when the others go ♂

mbaukeda′	hiama′i	mbaukeda	nimaį′	mbaukeda′	Hø imaį′
I go away ♀	nephew	I am going	son		uncle

ma′naignike′ abeka	namparumana	kaia ąi′	mbaunikide	u
I shall come tomorrow	when you come	my mother	I go away	

mbau′	mbaurikide	keremai	mbaunkide	hiamą′i	mbaunkide
		brother-in-law			

kambue′	jorokwi′	umayo′	jorokwi′	adema′i	ticiparaghi
relative		fishback		uncle	harpoon arrow

jorokwi′	mbauke′	agnikowi	mbauke′	amia′į	mbaunkidi′
	I go away ♀	sister		older sister	

niama′i	mbaunkide′	kambue′.	hąhą!	namparu′mana	kambu′e
nephew		relative		when you come	relative

taranihdoru	mana′ime′·	mbaun′kideh	hadimą′i	mbaube′
three days	come I		uncle	I am going

auitokweį′·	Hąhą!	Hąhą!	Jipę′	bau′	hadamai′	mbaurikide
niece (♂)			where	are you going	grandfather	

atdgi′.	Manankideh	gnumairu′h.	Gnǫmbuwę′	kaįa	aia′maį.
older brother ♂	I come	next year	tell him ♂	my	father

Hą′hą′	nyǫbuwę′	hanàto′di	kaiomaį.	kaiaabi′	gnǫbuwę′
		that he come	my father	my daughter ♂ (younger)	Tell him

habeko'hana	tødi'	hødikodi'.	tananabui	tcarana'h	kni' daiya'		
to come	tomorrow	it is I	how are you going ♂	canoe	poor fellow		
kudikude'	naparø'hu	hadatchua'mi	dø'	kni' daiya'	tana'h		
it is I	when are you going	four	days	poor fellow	whose son		
Kodeh	ua'pa'rikide	gnakanką	ti'puti'pu'	uapankideh·	hą'hą'!		
am I	I am afraid	cayman	casiarel	I am afraid			
køtøgnio'd	Hąhą'!	abarikide	jiabuą'hu'inne'	høtuynioką'yahade'			
go there		a moment	now I say to him	goes there my mother			
animaį	nyo'i'ni	manarikidi	kodeh	manarineh	hinade		
uncle nephew	said he	I come	♂	you come	with much people		
tanarį do'ro	karani'	tohęnųa'	—diane ♀	baghariene'	otabure'h		
3 days	deep hole	we	will sing ♂	go	all		
bø·ane'h	payǫ	bau'rineh	beru'pe'	hǫrupę	gnuią'	tcumai	
cattle	yes	you	to my town	I go home	where	soup	
handi'	adomine'h	kni	bau'de	kni	kodeh	høkaniaine	doh
I don't know	you	no	I go away	no	I	meet one	sun
kodeh	butio'anah	gnumahirøh	kodeh	mana'hideh	gohe'ano'		
I		next year		comes here	go we		
guatoni	tcarana'	tana'	mbaupa'no	autabu'reh	gohadine'		
we will {carry take	canoe	where	go we	all	gather the people		
anyime'	mbautane'	keriame'h	dipe'h	berupe'h	oru'pe'h		
brother	we will go	brother-in-law	which town	for the town	few born		
gohe'da	knahura'aneh	tambe'h	paeh	parøtuna'h	oe		
work	here eat we	manioc		topecho (a banana)	maize		
Hą'hą'	jipeh	hurarapa'.	Muapa'	jambųa'	mųa'	høe'napi	
	changuango	I eat now	I sleep now	I come	sleep	quickly	
ben	mbuatanch	dame'h	ateø'h	tcǫ'	hambu'rakedeh		
you	we will go		to shoot	fish	I am dead		
tametcǫ.	mBau'taneh	ha'diameh	mbaurikideh	jambuą'.			
with hunger	we go	uncle	I go	now—			
Joro'kwe	ajima'i	jagu'ime.	Dede	nua'aikideh	jagueme.		
give me	older brother	salt	yes	I have	salt		
clean Quepe	ku'neh	habe'	anǫda'	nienta'ni	do	tanaruh	kono'pa.
I have	cleaned it already	we	will stay	how many	days	where	we will live ♂
Huriara'	apa'rine'h	konde'h	jorokwi'	huriorokwi	ambu'rikidi		
food	preparing (making)	we five	give me	come eat	I am thirsty		
ui'	hi'—kna'	where go you je'pembaømane'	mbaurikidi	tu'ararupǫ.	Jipę'!		
water.	here it is	where are you going	I go	with canoe	where		
dįudi'pe·	hi khądį	gnotarikø dime.	Napau'	—une	hade'mai		
it is there	here he is	I say	It is	his	my uncle		

hado′	jo′de′h	keriami	hado′	aiya′maį′	hado′	naia′ai′kaiąai′
companion	this	brother-in-law	companion	my father		his mother my mother

adonia′į	ami′	jorokwa	ami′	kna′	jorokwe	ghonehį′mua′
(which is the woman)	sister	give me	sister	this	give me	I say to her ♂ sleep

høl	dai′na·	Jorowį′	jo′rokwa	jiakoda′	jorokwa	da nah
house	take across	give me ♀	♂	pot		take across

agnimą′i	ado′	tanangwameado	mau	gnobireku′di′	kni
brother	move	he that has more	sleep	I say ♀	no

nua′de	hana′bø	we′napi wu′h	tana′dedi	naⁿdedio	bua′di.
I don't have	that he come	that he goes quickly	that they go		

we′napuwuh	mana′idi·	tcara a′na	dirǫ′	jo′	Ha!	Hą!	hudimua
							he sleeping

jagųa me	nive′	Jorokwi	jaguime′	tana ua′	tibo′	gate′
salt				that he carries	goods	I bought

kode′	mburina′	gate′bu·mburina′.	Jorokwi	ero′	gate′
	for a hammock	I bought for hammock			

jorokwi	ømua′yo′	he′na′ni	gate′.	Patciutciarą′	kainą
give me	fishhook	much	I bought	hat	my

jorokwe′	tciana′kø′·	høbø	kaįyąbehø	hatci′de	kani′	hatci′dedi
	sweet (sugar)		for the boy	far away	not	very far away

hetati′	nguą′	nive′·	padiø′	nguą′(e′di′)	mbarikidi	hø øpa′kode′
caroto (a drink)	has	rational (civilized)	that yes	he has (positive expression)		I fear

nivę′	høhøpa′	huritį′	gohau′ane′	huritsį′	nimbøⁿtsao
	I go walking	I am going to eat	yes let us go	eat	talking

ibi′ąmae′	tamuo′	tamuo′	Handi	gno′mane	Gnǫhe′	hahi
alone language	is true	is true	it is so	what you say	look!	aunt

høde′mene	dede.	hąhą	jorokwa′	ta′eh	totcio′gnua′
you do not go ♂	yes			calabash	fruit I have

totuio′	buriabura	Nafe′	buriabura′	Hę′ ea′	tokwęne ea′
f	—black	coffee	black	weeping	little boy

ea′di′	tokwę·′di	jorokwęhuį′.	Mbaupa	anoda′	mperupe′·
weeping saying	little one	give me water	I go away	we (same as anoneh)	for home

øun	weinepi′	habedorù′	adomine′	naparawbøh	tiambią′ bøh
you go	further	early	you also	when are you going	now I go

kodeh.	Wa′na′pi·mana	mboeya′	huriara′hę′	johe′da′	huriara′di
	come quickly	pig	food give him	exhaust	here is the food

huratane.	wanapi	tcunø′	otawu′reh	goharine′	hurapa′
let us eat	quickly	all	everyone	let us go	to eat

tcade′mane	paęo′	tcade′·	ado′	hødinǫ′	habadine′	abe′.
thus it is good	that yes	very good (very tasty, fine)	move	give	a moment	wait

Nomene′	naparu′	nomene.	tciare′h	adjimąi	mbaø′	aɯji′mu′
yesterday	when			brother	I go away	brother

pa'di·	tacuma	we'	buria'buria'	kafe'	buria'buria'	arapa'	
hat yes	make	soup	black	coffee	black	to drink	
joro'kwe	(nuą')	jorokwe'	ado	mbatci'	jorokwe	tibo'hoa'rią'	
give me	a	particular fish		it is good		soap	
jorokwe·	nimito'·h	jorokwe'	bate'a	høri'bø	høta'nę·		
	comb		something to wash clothes	get ready	that we go		
djabuamana	bea'	kønidekudi	jito'rikude	jito'iketohe'	gaipa'		
now he comes	said	I cannot	I am sick	I have a headache	I unite		
jito'rikude	hąmbua'di	haidi'me	gate'hapa'rikode	tibo'			
I am sick	he is dead	here he is	I shall buy	clothing			
kaiąię'ha	kahęhabi'ha	tibo'	ado'	gate'hapa'rikade	tore'h		
for the woman	for my daughter	ropa			digging tool		
kania'meh	niǫ'ni	ka'rani'	hado'tcomi	konitci'mo			
one	2	3	4	5			
knitu'gupe	kamieme	kniticirupe	nyoani'	hadotume			
6		7		9			
kni'tcirupe'	itisune'	taurupane	kaniame	taumpe'	gnione		
	10		11				
taurupe	taranih	k^{a}tana'mo	tsini'	keintanari'	keniame		
kųntanari	nyoani'	taranih	hado'tcheme	ta'usune'.	Habe!		
hado'	habe'	hudi!	kode'	jorokwi	konde'h	kodeh	tcuma
huriara'	tcuma'·	mdaibø	ba'inbo'	cųbo'e	kajabi'	kajaha'o	
		go get		my little daughter	my daughter	my son	
ka'jahǫ'i	jorokwa	kajatibo	nyohe'	unitu'rikdi	hati'n		
son			said he	I am tired	very far		
urøtø' ko'de'·	jambo	nomene'	jorokwe	kuononia'	jorokwi		
I am going to eat	now	tomorrow	give me	knife	give me		
topone'	hibe'	tiboka'į	jitorikweitci	gitorikwe'	tao'	ado	
matchete	ax	fish line	my finger burns		shank		
gitorikwe	apahu'	tana'.	Tode'ha	tibatzua'pa	todeh'pa		
	back	this, so.	cut	make	cut		
tibatzua'pa	tcia'rapapa'	tcharato'h	quepeto'h	chido'	bu'ah		
make	canoe	salted	(a tree)	chiguire	deer		
aure'h	opara'h	arih	tcǫ·	ikuvi'·	ari'	okaroro'	po·o
dog	white heron	babu	fish	turtle	babu	chicken	snake
cheni!	'we'	^{a}ndura'h	tcirideme·h	yuna' wate'h	^{eb}pa'rari·h		
water snake	hawk	tawny crane	tortoise	king duck	wire		
nyia'kanka·h	oibi'·h	^{bat}tca'.^{bw}	apekuch	tara'^{h}·			
cayman	tonino	my	araña spider	Jivaro stork			
tchiratoh	oah	arhedi	ho'de'h	kevamuin	kodeh	mineh	
	make		I	brother-in-law	I	you	

(FREE TRANSLATION)

I split a log to make a canoe, I burn it, I plane it on the outside. I burn it. I make it ready. I plane it inside. Now it is ready. The work is finished. Tomorrow it is thrown down. Tomorrow I shall have a small canoe. The canoe is finished. I go away younger. I go away. I come back. I live here. I am going two days away. I shall stay a long time there where I am going. My older brother lives there with my family but I am here now and I have my sister, my father, my uncle, my aunt, granddaughter, sister-in-law, a little girl, my brother-in-law, younger uncle, grandchild, my girl child who is married. Her husband he gives food to her, cloth, he is married to her, he does not harm her. He gives her a necklace. Goodbye my mother. When are you coming with us? Let us go. Not yet, let us go tomorrow when the others go away. I am going away nephew, I am going away son, uncle, I shall come tomorrow when you come my mother. I go away my brother-in-law. (The rest of the text is incomprehensive except that it continues to emphasize traveling back and forth between the author's country and the Yaruro country, hunting, eating, and family relationships.)

Nụdiha'	kaį	katopa'ri	wirø'h	Hụdia'h	hutihą'	mitę'vide'
afterwards	rope	let down			man seized	rope to come out

kaį'	miteh	anoneh	ado'kaįnimo	ieįnmiteh	hu'diha	hado'
	pull	we	more others	woman pull		more

mitede	adokonimoh	nomehiti	kaį'	hoį'	adokenemoh	ieį'
took hold	more others	before	rope	husband	more other	woman

adokenemoh	kaį'	adokenemoh	pumeh	hoi	adokenemoh
more others	rope		people	husband	

yeį' adokenemoh hoį' adokenemoh yeį adohenemoh
pumehoi pumeh yeį adokenemoh ho'i adokenemoh yeį
adokenemoh ho'i yeį' adokenemoh Yaruro ho'i yeį

peha'ondi
(so it is)

Marupano	churo'pano	tsia'nupǫ'	taruru po'·	johadi	muį'hivę'
(North, left hand)	(right) south	west	east	take	below (river)

kaį ntiha'	hondi	kiadia-ti	hutiha	juro	pu'ndidiha'	untiha
afterwards rope	truly	stays		south	went	

johadi'	joha'	whuapar idi	nuna	ate	puru·	tcou me'hde
take	take	fear	duck	reale	feathers	was loose

lame'ha'pa	podameh	jomę'de	pu'meh.
fishing for thraial		unsuccessful in hunt	

(FREE TRANSLATION)

Afterwards the rope is let down. Afterwards a man seized a rope to come out. We pull up more, we pulled up woman, afterwards we pulled up more of the others. We pulled up her husband and women and more of the others. So it is.

Kodo kodo	pearuh	pumeh	yeį	pearu	undiatceni	pandi
long time ago (before)		(Yaruro)	woman	before	reverted	animal

terracoapendi	Uiya	pumehdi	uiya'	pe'aruh	chuį	pumehdi
there were no people	antes	before people people	howlers	new	monkeys	people

pea'ral	Yaruro	pearuh	pumehdi	pea'ru	Jaruro	Merideh
		before	people (Yaruros)	before		(another animal)

pumeh	pea'ru	beri	monati.	chumeri	pearuh	tibatu
			(were people once)	(fino)		

kaę'hahį	mbua'dahaneh	ku·wa	tctǫ'	mbua'deneh	ecitǫ'a
string	he left	fat (large, thick)	harpoon arrow	he left (died)	

undia'	brekadirǫ ihe	udiha'	hudirǫ'hudihą'	amboie'dida
	was fierce		afterwards the others	is dying

antcikwehu	høe	wi·ru'	indiha	tambena'	hadewa'h	hurade'dihų'
		submerged		manire	get closer (approach)	is eating

harawi'tah	hurare'dibuah
	we were eating

(FREE TRANSLATION)

A long time ago before the Yaruro woman was referred to an animal there were no people. This was before the people became monkeys. Before the Yaruro people. The howlers were people once. (The rest is untranslatable.)

Y	eba parihidi	dekudi	hode	ha'bi	hado'	ahu'rmaį'	aį'
woman		I want		uncle	brother		mother

kera'	ayęimaį	hparikidi	atsi'	manei'mirikidi	pumehdaįharikidi
sister-in-law	father	far	away	I will come in five days	I shall go to see

ado'	tamentsomerikidi	tana'h urapa'ane'h	arigudi'—igru'
my people	they are hungry	let us eat	armadillo

(FREE TRANSLATION)

I want to go to my woman, uncle, brother, mother, sister-in-law, father, far away. I will come in five days. I shall go to see my people. They are hungry, let us eat armadillo.

Po·tcuni	tciaware'h	tcipu'tcipu'h	tsia kwaį po·	hikanakòpo'h
water snake	(rattle)		snake	(another snake) (garter snake)

cresu'ente	grande	Mana	uihana'	hudi'hą	gondo'	uni	dabu	o'te'ha'
flood	water	come	water much	afterwards	pull out		hole	Jefe

nyǫ	hudihą'	kaį·	uni	jorokoa—	kaį'	ottahį'	pøhana'	uni'
said	afterwards	rope	boy	give to me	rope	Jefe	water snake (mythical)	boy

hoteh puhana'di hondo'pa hudi'ha' pueheri' muingondo'
kainą nyuanih' Huidiha' pue'rih handi mbea'h hoynde'
kaniame ieį' kaniame ieį ado' Hudihą baudire kaį
undiah maę' tǫkwe maį' ieį' Hųdiha' abantcę n'diha

Hụdiha'	kondeh	kua	tcutca·mbuh	pumeh	Hụdiha'	ote'h
	fire	light	cold feels feels cold			chief

djorohendeh	huriara'	nyo'hǫdihę	hohią	nyǫ'	bidiwę'	prohana'(di)
give other more	eat (food)	said more	to the men	they told me		snake

huraria'	ado'	huriara'	Hudi'ha'	huna'rahį'h	hara di dine'h
food	more	food		search for food gather	living is (people) is existing

huriara'	tcuneineh	ota'burah·	hụdi'ha	nyo'bedirę'	uni
eat	all	everything		said man ♂	boy

iba'udede	tciri'h	hụdihą	ano'himeh	tcinjio'awuh	pono
not ours	land (savanna)		us (we)	(savanna)	lining

tcinhoy	mbedenu	ivi	yeį	kania'me	iei	keniameho
savanna man	has no house	(water)	woman	one woman only		

hina'patu	univedrǫ	tcin jioayu	joro	hinani	jąi	nivenah
give more yields	boy but a man now	savanna here	give	much		

jąi	joro'	jai'	joro'	inenivoka	niveina'·h	vaka	joro	joa'
bome		horse	give	much cattle	many whites	cattle	give	this

tcidoh	mboa'	mdame'h	aurih	pumeha'ndi	taive'	jipe'h
chiguire	deer		dog	people no (not)	stranger	changuango

pumeh	hura'pa	ji'pe	datutunu'h	pumeha'	tcidoh	mbua'di'ro
	eat		iguana		for us	is coming down from

ngatetu'	tibø'	paitcetcora'	Hudi!	yodeh·	pumehandi
he goes buy	clothing	hat	also	this	for us

tcirihødeh	dabuch	pumeha'	tana'pa	ndabu'h	hi'na	pumeha'
land that	the beach	for the people	happened	earth	much	for the people

orijara'	India	Rosa	ᵃdahuh	India	Rosa	handi'	tibato'
land of Kuma	(where she was born)		earth			no (negative)	

huriara	ha·pįa	tibato'	tcitǫ'	humayo'	he'dano	hotai'di'
comida	arrow		puyon (harpoon, arrow)	fishhook	is making fixing	he sends

huridirǫ'	uni	hura'riapa	dipuate'	dihote'	tciparadi'h
go hunting	boy	is cooking food	javalon		iron

tcnehewą	tibato'	ivinø'nøh	jipeh'	ivi deneh	jipe'h	tcopai
his		wife		many women		(a fruit) (guapo)

ivindeneh	joka'i	para'·	ividno	taruvidineh	ivivenę
woman	(fruit guapo)	barbaco		digging	women digging

hakandawa'po	moh	tsio	kondehtsio'	tibøh	aborią	hote di
collecting guapo	turtle		smoke light (fire)	breechclout		man

kaįya	hiadiro'n	pe aroh	hudi'	maę joa'	ibamąi	hurapiandeh
my		new		language this	our language	cook

huriara'ndeh	kaja cani'	hαtαhụriara'	tibato'	huriarą'	tcǫ
for us to eat	my boy	send (to get) food			

tibato'	tcǫ·pa'ndi	tcu ma	diawa	hųdiha	tcǫhani'	undi
bow	gather	soup	making		fish much	

hurato'	oteh	uni'	udi'hia'me	puhanaineh	yeįn	India
			is wealthy			

Rosa	ha'ni	ota'ini	pue	joro'	tineh	tcenebawa'	huni
		our	hole	give	us	silver has	

a'ndi	honde'h	kodokodi	inebe	akri'	honde'h	nye'	moi
		long time ago		stole		people	is

kia	^{n}datcen	nyenenih	ngine'h	hųdiha	tcara pa'	tikuni'h
sleeping		night			curiare make	lack

huriařa'	taint	hurara	a'itu	hambu tiǫ'	tcara	tęmetcǫ'
food	paddle		fluhar	avoid hunger		hunger

huriarikidi	hurapa'ri kidi	tomatca'rikidi	tomaticǫ'	honde'h
eaten already	drank already	hunger have		

jaguę'meh	niveyø·	tcumamau'	huria'rą	homa'	huriara'	ngua^{m}deri
salt	rammal	making	soup	grandmother		lacks

hohu'dihohadeo'di	bohaur'	hudi'ha	mbautaneh hawi	iembateneh
there is your land	nephew		let us go seek	go hunt

ycį	eba'·h	hadi'di	hakari	undi'ah	mbahu	yeį	ebah
	hunting				let us go hunting		

itu'nemeh	tcihi'nemeh	gwabu'itcare	huwi	tcuputci	pu·hde
hundred legger		stretch by raya	cascavel		let

|	hu'hi	tciara tciara	kdo kdehineh	pumeh	kodo kodo	yeį
		canoe				

tsade'h	putsiake'h	hudia'	pumhdi	tsa'deh	garempa
pretty	nephew of Kuma				

kodo kodo tokwį pumeh yeį

(Free Translation)

The water snake created a great deal of water. There came much water afterwards. The people were full of doubt of the hole. The chief (Hatchawa) said afterwards give me a rope. The boy asked Puaná and * * * the people felt cold. The chief (Hatchawa) gave them food and fire, he told the snake to give more food, to gather food. The boy said to the man, the land is ours. There was one woman. The boy was a man now and gave her much, gave her horse, gave much cattle, gave capibara, deer, dog, gave changuango, the iguana. This man here is going to buy us a hat. He said this land was for us, for the people. The boy fixed a fishhook and an arrow and went hunting. The women gather fruit, barbaco, the women dug for barbaco. They collected turtles, lighting a fire, made breechclouts. (The remainder is unintelligible.)

STORY OF KATIWE'J

Katiwi	hura'	pume·tokwį	hura'	katiwe'i	huitcuaduo
	ate	boy			bathing

hura'	pumeh	tokwį·	Hudhą'	hohadi'	nuabąuhįhati'.
				uncle	took him away for

Hudihą′ tutarią′ anno′ katiwci dawedepia′ totarią′
corral left afterwards no one new corral

dawedepią′ katiwi mbaøųhą′ katiwi· kumahi′ pe abe′tci.
went to puma

Ado′ tigitigihura′ pume tokwi uni. Hudihą′ nguna′hą′
also hawk large killed him

tigi tigi anna′. Hudihą′ nkua′hą′ konderų′ nkua′ tigitigi.
burned with fire.

Itciai hidi nyǫ.

Sade′habįa′ pumeh sadeh′habe igi′ sadeh hąohąø′ jito′ deka′
greetings man greetings women greetings children not sick

hidata′ kieine ambrįandi bau ᵃhuandi′ nome′. Hatchawa Ha′Hą′
waiting wife dead many days time that he has been away perhaps is dead

tcadeidi dibe pume′hdi gitodeka′ tcade′ tcadeide køa′yu
good loves man sick not good good (is) with me

tcadeidi jorodike nombi joro i′me ja′i hambuado kumą′dabu
gives me cigar will give him horse will be born Kuma land

joroime baka joroime tiere′ kodeh hambua′dø ado′
silver will be born

kuma dibeume tcade′di′ pumedi habiandabu′ kodeh
love him good man my land

pariata kunni pumehdirį′ kʋnemo tcįn′bu kąnemo pumi
making (♀ speaking) people other kind land other

kodeh jorują′ konotø′· konotø meneno′mi
gave to live like you

Puana′ ado

Pume′ moneno′ debendi tciri nua′tohę meneno′ hotabure!
like you every one (Yaruro land)

siande tcacheidi dibeh honetaide ea dibe′ ea

Kode′rikidi oteh tcunią′ oteh kodeh kode joro
tcara′ tcitǫ′ tobato′ kuriara′ atø′ menenǫ′ ote bureh
all/everybody

tcune′ine otebure′ dabu tciri kaią koderikido aname′·
tokwi mi hamburinene′ tsadevinene hambu′ hida′tsinǫ′kwi
wait

nuą′ᵃtohe′nuą′ larihidi kodeh tsunią jurupa′ hambu′uni′
(all he loves) (ending dying)

ote′bure′h tcade dirę′ dibeaia dirǫ′.

(This is the speech made by Kuma to me during one of the shamanistic performances.)

Greetings, men, greetings women, greetings stranger, greetings relatives. His wife is waiting. She is not sick, nor is she dead. He has traveled many days. She thinks that perhaps he is dead. Hatchawa loves this good man. He is good to me. He gives me a cigar. When he will be born again in Kuma land, I shall give him a horse, silver, he will be born in my land. I love this good man. He lives in the other kind of land. I gave it to him to live there, like you my people, like you every one living in Yaruro land.

MAKING A HAMMOCK

hunghuari	kodi	ghubu′ideha	ngua′ dedi kudi	kaįkaįnya′
I shall	seek	moriche (palm) cut	I do not have	for all the rope

ndarikudi	abųa′	jambųa′	tcatcą′	abo′	habaukidi	tci′ha
I found it	now	to-day	heavy	!	wait a moment	

^{n}gaopa′	tcirike′	muiarikide′	kanehau′kidiua	habeko	hudi′
already	dry	I go	I shall put it there	tomorrow	afterwards

hunghuarihode	hude	wa′derikudi,	uapaumene	panaume′
I go seek	macanilla	I do not have	but I fear	jaguar

tcuame dida	hupaname′dį	kǫaheanihun	^{n}gudi′	merikone′
fierce (wild)	time	go forth fierce	I shall	kill it

Habetcį	jikude′wą′	hųtcą′rįaweį′	barikudi	kaįtca′ha
Now I	am ready	it	a moment (wait)	I will the string

^{n}dig^{n}uaderikidi
I do not have

kaį′ = string, rope

(FREE TRANSLATION)

I shall seek a moriche and cut the leaves to make rope which I do not have. I found it heavy today. Wait a moment. It is already dry. I go now. I shall put it there until tomorrow. Afterwards I shall go seek my macanilla. I do not have it now, but I am afraid of the jaguar, a fierce animal. It will go forth, fierce. I shall kill it. Now I am ready. I shall make the string which I like.

CARVING ASABACHE

Ne·♂apa′rikidi	hįehą′	hade′nni	hįeha′mmi	kaįa	ieį	hami
I am making	for the woman wife	pretty	wife for	my	wife	for

tcade′dedike′do			tun·tsi′·	ngate	ha′rikidi	habu	gweinitięinda
good well	tamed out	no	necklace	buy	I shall	no	why si

tsųa′dehabo′	tcade′diho′		hape′me′rikone′	ngluto′rike	ikidø
because	good	because or	I make it	it hunts me	the finger

tcumidanika′	hapadęime	dekone′	nguadeni′kįa	huihambo′rikidi′
makes me lazy	make better	I not	I do not want	I am very thirsty
	(better I not make it)			

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harare'hiro'ke aguretumi'kja hurakikodi abarikidi tcirike'a
drink water — I go away — urinate

hatcin hǫ'į'de koe'tonda.
far away — forest — because it is cool there

(FREE TRANSLATION)

I am making for my pretty woman, my pretty wife, a necklace because she is good. My finger hurts me. Makes me lazy. I shall not make it. I do not want to make it. I am very thirsty. I shall drink water. I am going away to urinate far away in the forest because it is cool there.

Udia burahananandi tohigwąme' whui'hą jąi tohį' gwą'ame'
he came — shaman — he — horse — shaman

whųihą' jai· whuįnduria hanari hamburi'me di· whuįnduria
he — horse — was (perfect) afterwards next — other — dead (his spirit) — was next

hanari iene· pumei iene' whu'nduria' hanari pume oį'·
other — woman — (Yaruro) — woman — was next — other — Yaruro — men

whuį induria hanari ieni. Handokanemo' hana di (*or* hanari)
was next — other women — more — others

hado hanemo hanari nehde'i whuį'nduria'· whuimduria
more — others — come!

hanari kanemo' hadohanemo' hindeni whuį induria. Hindeni
more — more

hadohanemeno whuinduria ieni. Hadhanemo' iene' hi'nadnę'
many

hinane hind iro *or* hina'dne. Hadokanemo' hanadi' hadokanemo'
much people

whuįnduria. Hadodihende'ni kanemodui hina'drę' pumeh
come with his companions — later

Hinadre, Hinadre' pume'h. Hado'di hendeni kanemo' dųi' hindrę' ndia hanne'du hinadrę' hadokanemo' haneni hinadrę. Hado'di hineni kanemo' dųi' Hado' kanemo' hinedrę'.

Iteiai

hudi=man

hini=woman

Hanadi Iteiaide pea'ru tie'riai kanumei hanadei
comes — at first before — land all — one came

Hatchawadei. oteh di Hado'hanemo' otehdi puanadi. Hanadei
this

kumahini. Nyodei Itcadei konoto tcade'i· konoto tciri jųa,
would live — good — this earth

behade	jode'	dibe	hungo	ndona'nadi'·	eadidibe'.	Eadidibe
does not want. love, like	this	you	arrived	he arrived	loves you much	he

tcadedi'	Yaruro	depeha'ndi.	Hatchawa	tcadi'di	debehu'.
		also			when he comes

Ngodediman	dibe	ea'tara.	Eadedi	nivena.	Andei	eadedi
he wants to come		loves you much			no	loves

Nninenivenah.

Eadidibe dibe'.

Puana'—Eadidibe'	tcade'di	ibia pumedi
		our family

Kuma—Nguo'nanadididibe' eadidibe' ea'dedi yude'. Hą dite

manna	dibe' yu·	[a]Daba—ine ndi	handimanna	tara'	manna.
		?			

Udia^	burahananandi	tohigw̃a'me'	whuihā'	jai	tohigwāme'
Then	he came large	shaman	he	horse	shaman

whuihā'	jai'	whuinduria'	hanari	hamburimedi'	Whuī'nduria
he	horse	was afterwards	other	dead (spirits)	was afterwards

hanari'	ičine	whuīnduria'	hanari'	i'čine	pume	i'čine
other	women	was afterwards	other	women	(Yaruro)	women

whuinduria'	hanari'	pume'h	oī.	whuinduria'	hanari	i'čine
afterwards	other	(Yaruros)	men	afterwards	other	women

handoka'nemo'	hanari	hadoka'nemo'	hanari	hendei
more	others	more	other	more came

whuinduria'	whuinduria'	hanari	kanemo'	hadokanemo'
was afterwards	afterwards	more	came	more came

whuinduria	i'čine	hadokanemo	i'čine	hina'drēhinane	hinadirō.
afterwards	women	more came	women		

hanadi	Itciaide	pearu	tciviai	kaniamee'i	hanadei	Hatcawade'i
came	Itciai	first	of this land	one	came	Hatchawa

oteh·'di	hadokanemo'	oteh·'di	puanadi	hanadei	Kumahisu'
chief	more other	chiefs	Puaná	came	Kuma

gnodei	Itciaidei	konoto'	tcadei	konoto'	tcirijua'	hehade
said	Itciai	live	well	live	this land	does not love

jode'	dibehungondonanadi	eadidibe	eadidibe	tcadedi	Yaruro
rational	to you arrived he loves much you		loves you	well	Yaruro

dephandi'
also

Hatcawadei	nyodei
(Hatchawa	said)

Tcadedi	dibehu	ngodedi	manadibe'	eatara'	eadedi'
when	he came to you	he wants	to come here	much	loves you

nivenah	andei	eadide'	nine	nivenah	eadibe dibe!
not rational	more	he loves you	not	rational	he loves you

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[Note.—The following bibliography was prepared by Dr. Alfred Jahn, of Caracas, Venezuela. Most of the books cited are not available in our libraries. I have not seen most of them.]

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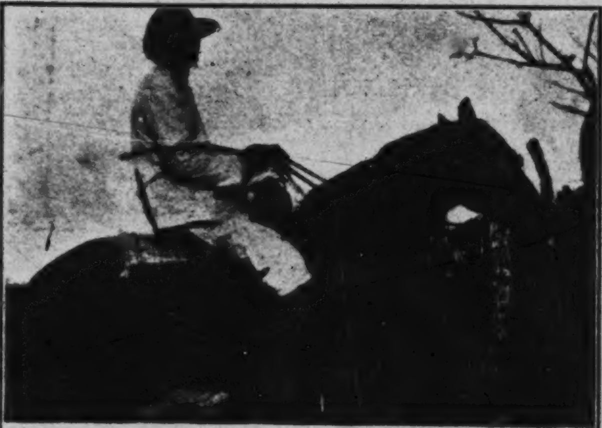
1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

600



[122]

2

138

3

1. Llanero horseman. Note the toe stirrup and lack of bridle. *2.* Author's party traveling across Apure. Note the rope tied to the horse's tail and the bull's nose. *3.* Sand dunes in the Llanos of Apure.

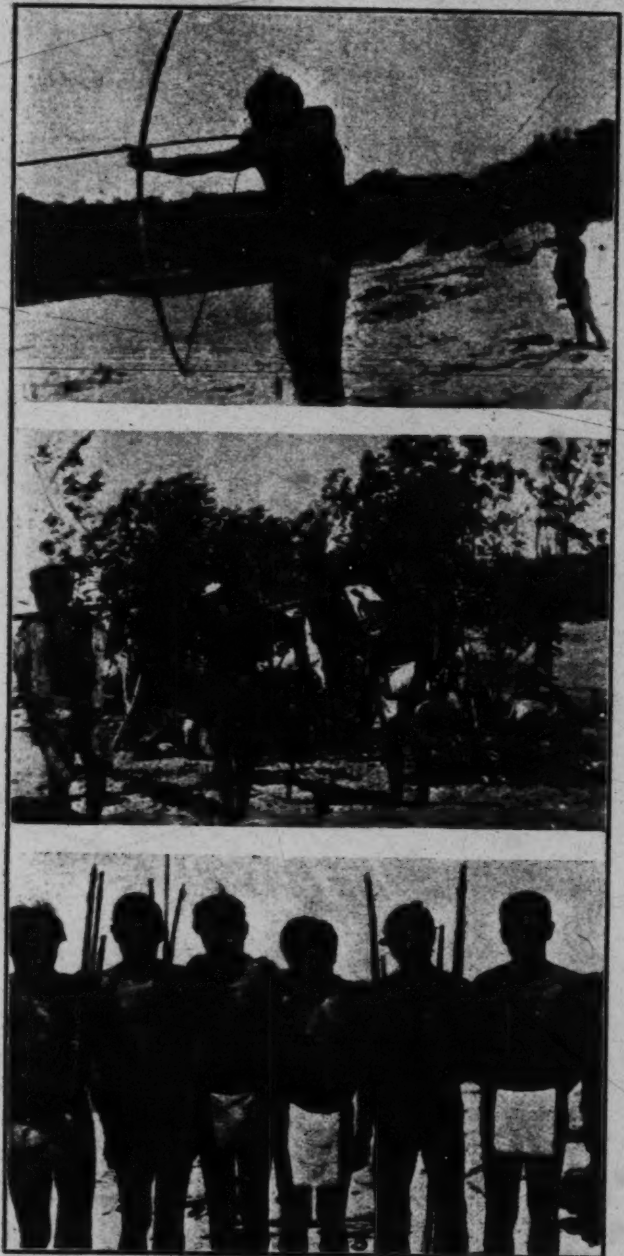
[End Plate I]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

224
411

482

142



1. Yaruro bowman. The arrow is held to the string between the forefinger and thumb. The middle and fourth finger help pull the string back. *2.* Crocodile meat is a staple food. The legs and tail have been cut off to make carrying easier. *3.* Yaruros of Lagunote wearing parts of author's towels for breechclouts.

[End Plate 2]

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1. Two laurel sticks are used by the Yaruros to make fire. The laurel is found in quantity along the banks of the Capanaparo River. Fire is produced in 30 seconds.

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2. Pottery making is woman's work. Note the pins thrust through the lower lip of the potter. She is smoothing the pot before firing.

[End Plate 3]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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415

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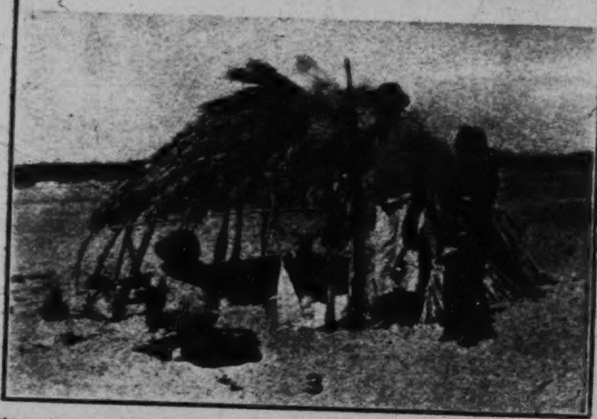

1. Branches thrust into the sands form Yaruro shelter against sun and wind. All the possessions of this family, with the exception of bow and arrows which the hunter has taken with him, are scattered on the ground. They consist of an iron pot, a piece of cloth, several baskets, a hammock, and a water jar. 2. Yaruros prefer to sleep half buried in the sands, both for warmth and protection from insects. During the day young children are put to sleep in hammocks. 3. During the rainy season, or when a site is occupied for more than several days, the Yaruros may build structures such as the one shown in this picture.

[End Plate 4]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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796
791

1. Clothes to the Yaruros mean protection from the cold at night and a mark of being "civilized." It is not often that they are able to secure new cloth. Generally they fall heir to cast-off garments. *2.* At the end of a 9-hour performance during which he smoked countless cigars, drank "coroto," and ate teiupah, a narcotic, Landaeta, the shaman of the Capanaparo Yaruros, waits quietly for the sun to rise. His wife, who attended him all night, is seated at his right. *3.* Landaeta, wearing a head cloth, with his people seated around him before sunrise. The women are at the left, the men at the right of the picture.

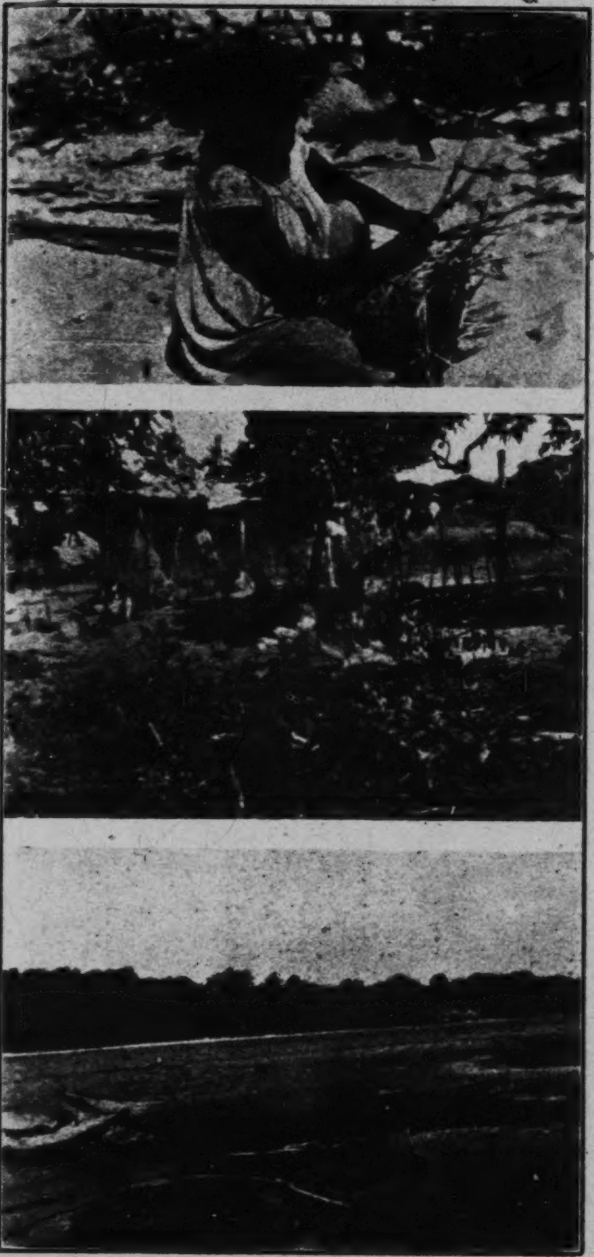
(End Plate 5)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

285

361

501

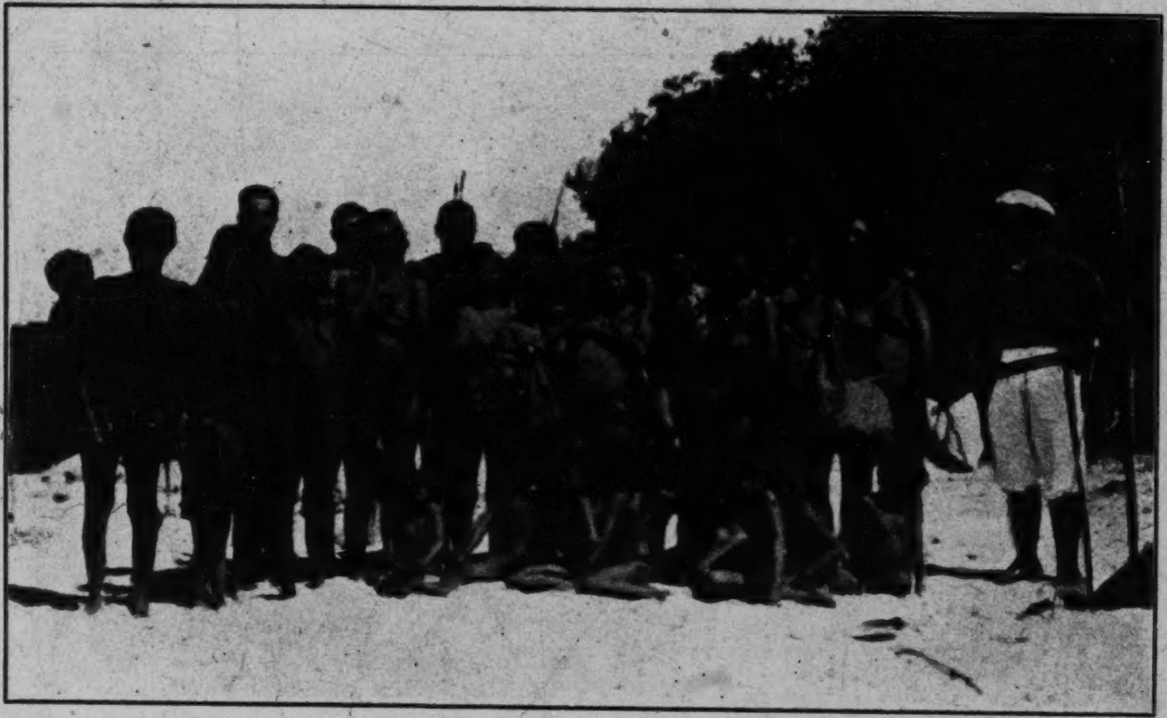


1. Basket weaving is woman's work. Carrying and storage baskets are crude affairs, often woven out of one palm leaf. Pouches are made with greater care and take a considerably longer time. *2.* Yaruro camp at [El] Buron. Note the lack of shelter. *3.* Yaruro dugout canoes.

(End Plate 6)

621
114

[End Plate 7]



Yaruros of Lagunote. Note carrying baskets, digging sticks, bows and arrows. The author is standing at extreme right.

1s Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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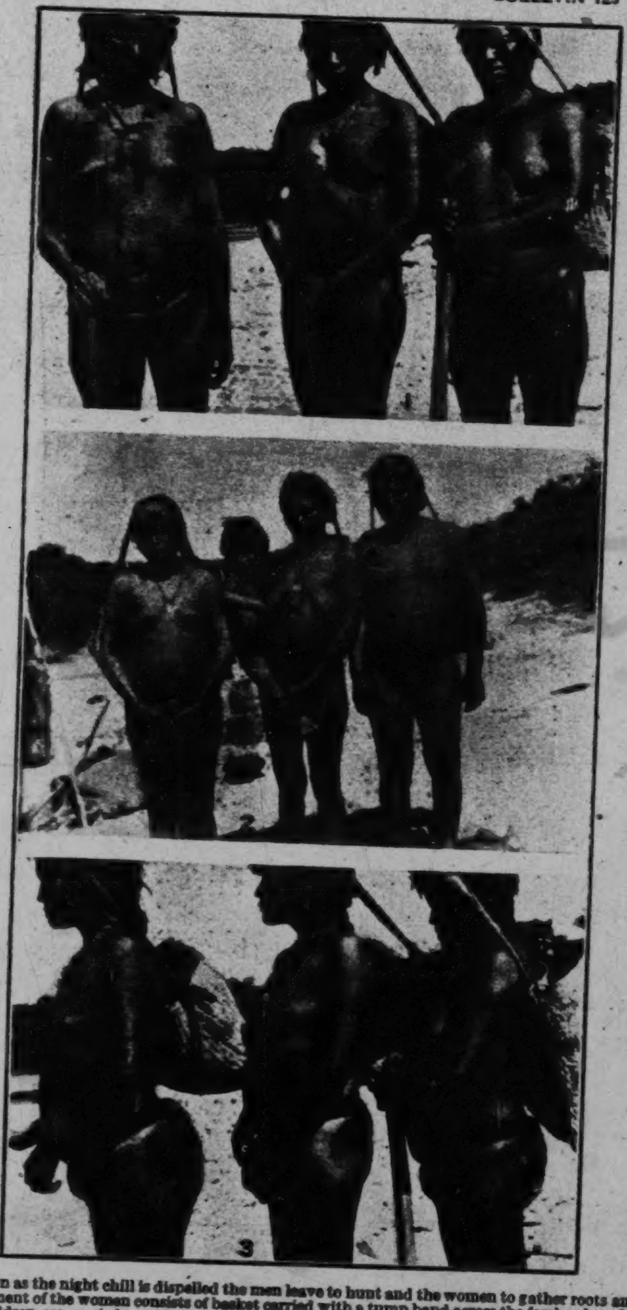

854

482

1, 2, 3. As soon as the night chill is dispelled the men leave to hunt and the women to gather roots and seeds The equipment of the women consists of basket carried with a tump band across the forehead, and digging stick. Children are carried astride across the hip or in a carrying net. The aboriginal clothing of the Yaruro women is the girdle shown in these photographs, now worn even if the individual possesses a camisole.

[End Plate 8]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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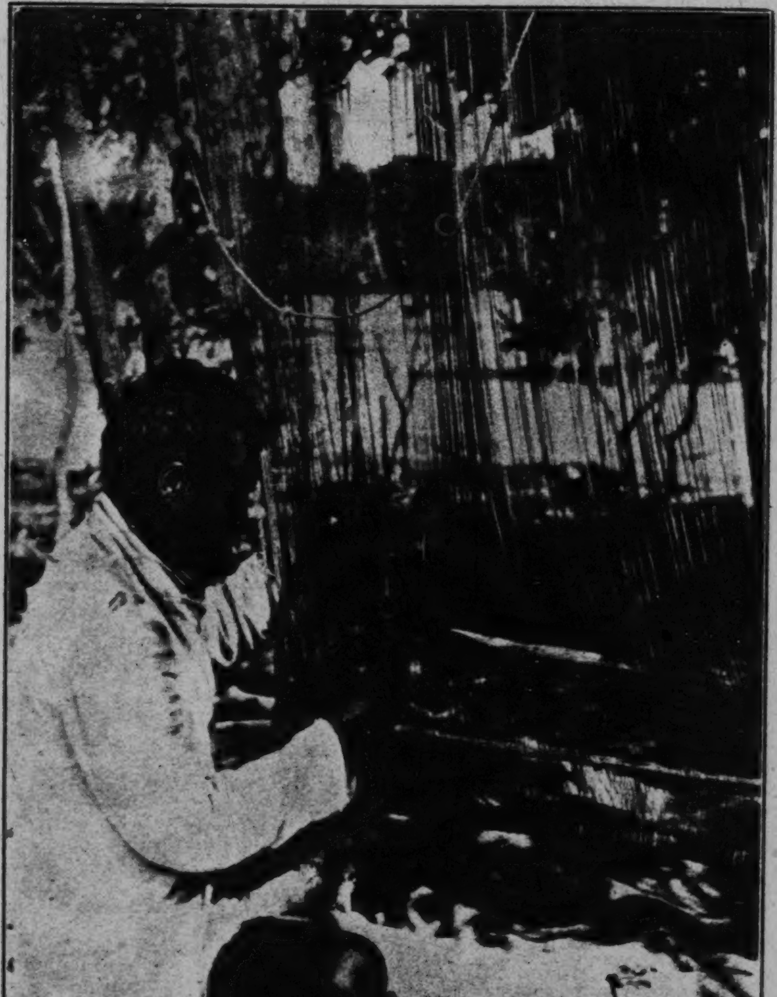
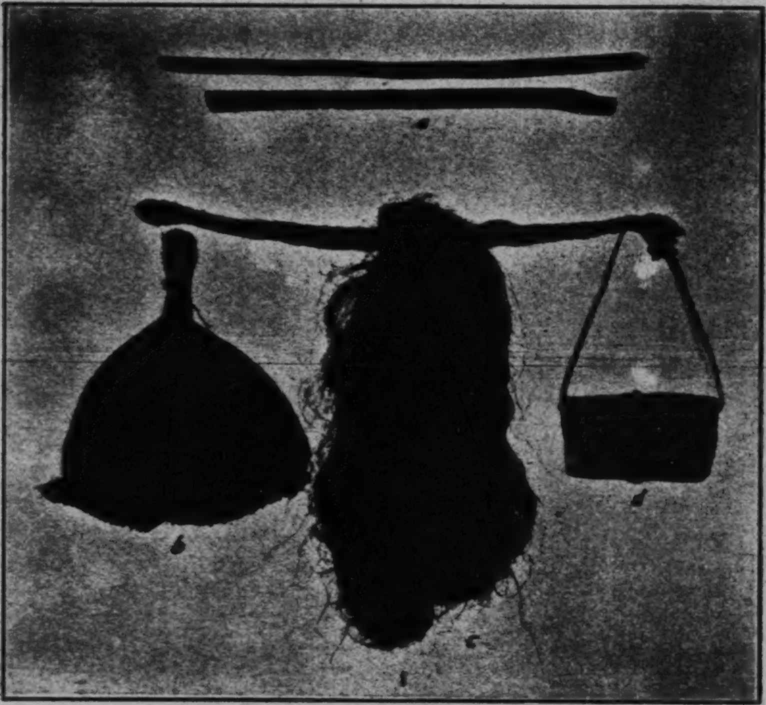


Laudaeta, a shaman, weaving a hammock. Hammocks are made by men.

[End plate 9]

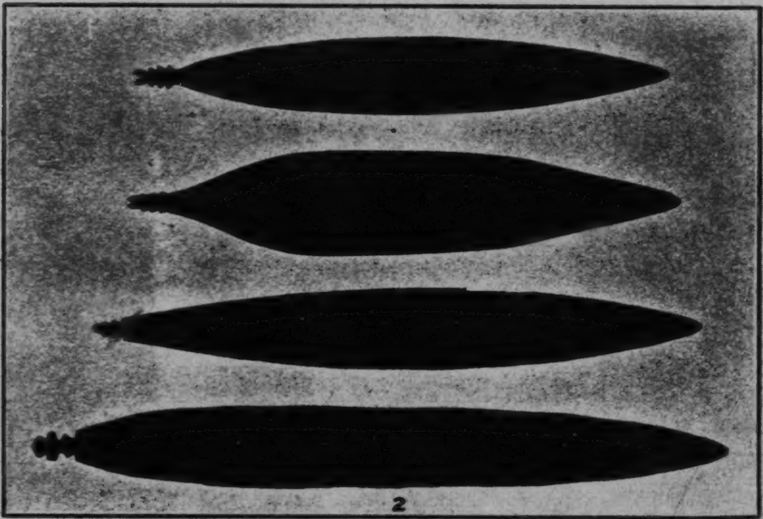
1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

372
287
291



1. *a*, **Fire sticks.** Fire is produced by drilling one piece of laurel wood into a second. *b*, **Fire fan.** *c*, Horizontal piece is a hair rope worn around the waist by the women and the hairlike vertical piece is made from the moriche palm leaf and dyed red. The two pieces form the women's girdle.

515
412

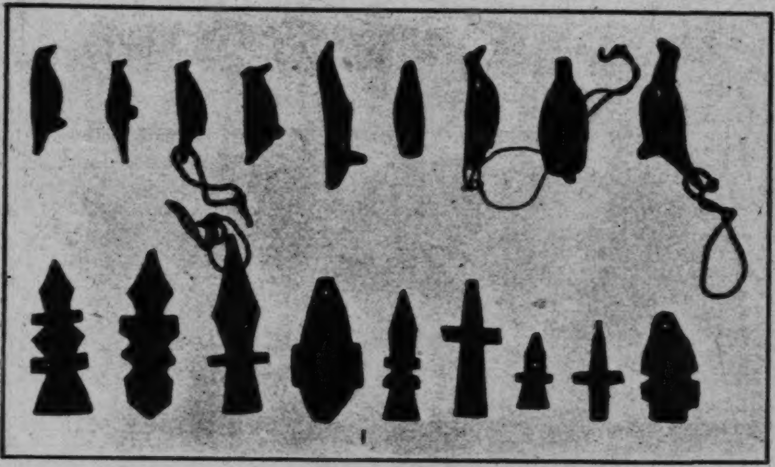


2. The serrated ends of the sticks are used to comb the hair in the search for lice which are either crushed between the fingers or between the teeth. The pointed ends are used to crush the blisters raised by various insects.

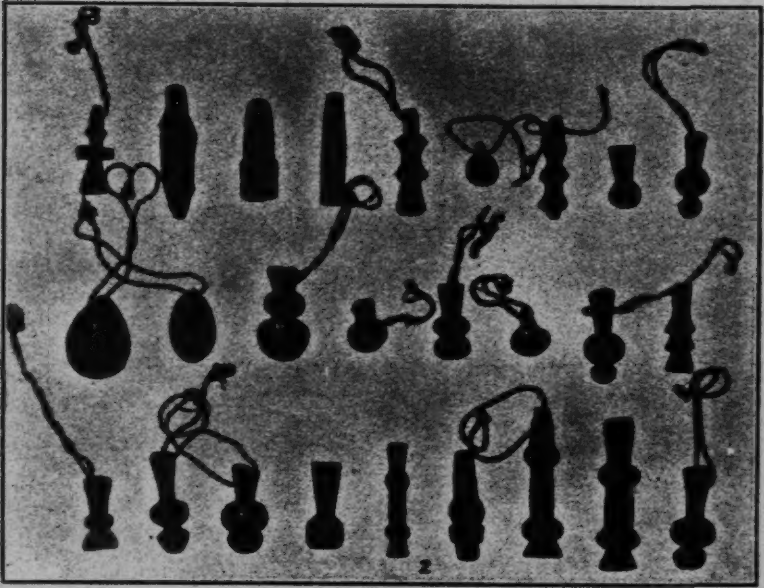
{End-Plate 10}

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

532
304



1. Azabache carvings. Top row: birds, mostly ducks. Lower row: geometric forms.

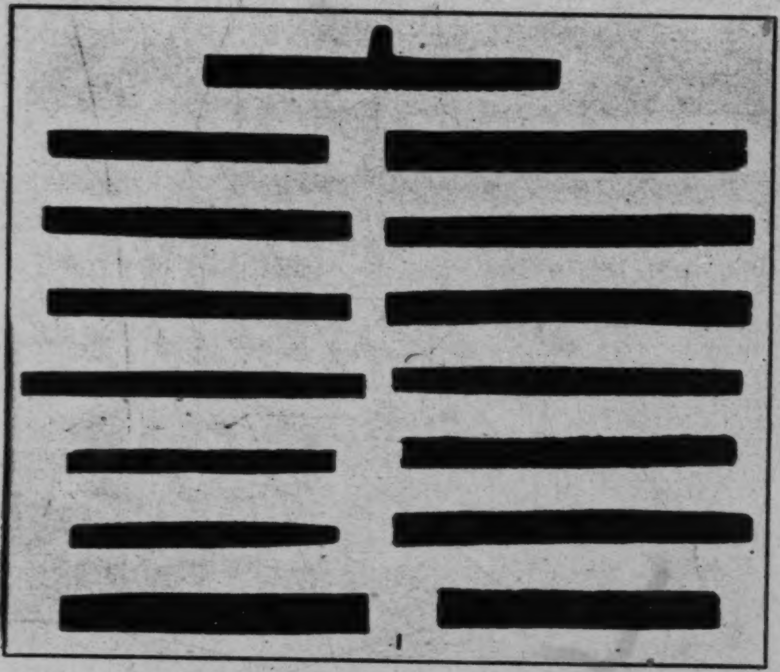


2. Azabache carvings. The two specimens of the middle row at the extreme left are palm-nut shells. For the most part these carvings represent seeds.

(End Plate 11)

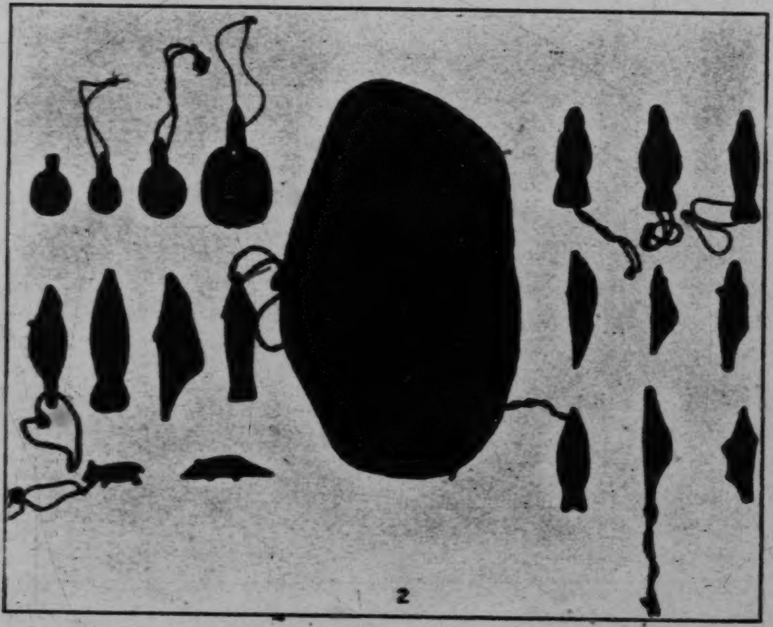
1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

531
302



1. Stamps of wood used to paint the body. These stamps are made by the men, but used by the women. The designs are stamped on the face.

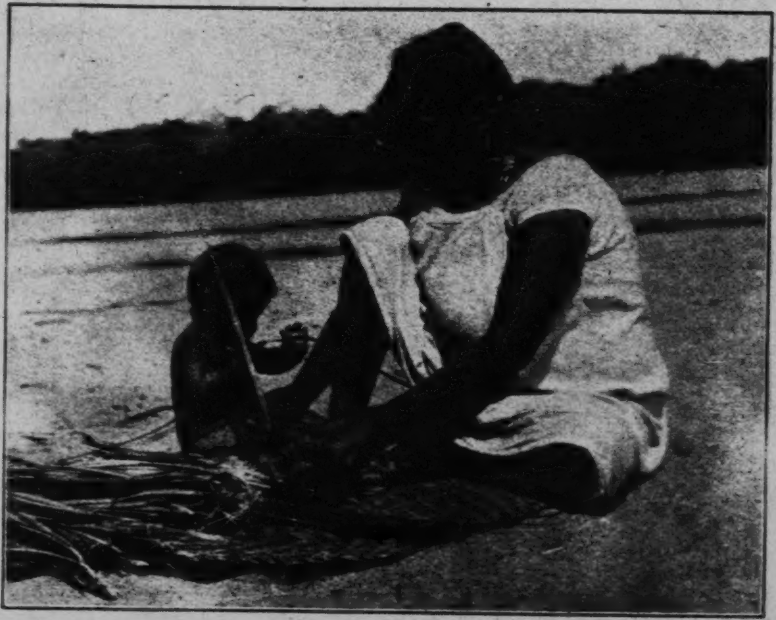
532
304
317



2. Azabache carvings. Center: piece of azabache as found in the rivers. Top row left: carvings of turtles. Top row right: carvings of birds. Middle row left and right: carvings of fishes. Lower row: carvings of (1) jaguar, (2) armadillo. Lower right: carvings of fishes.

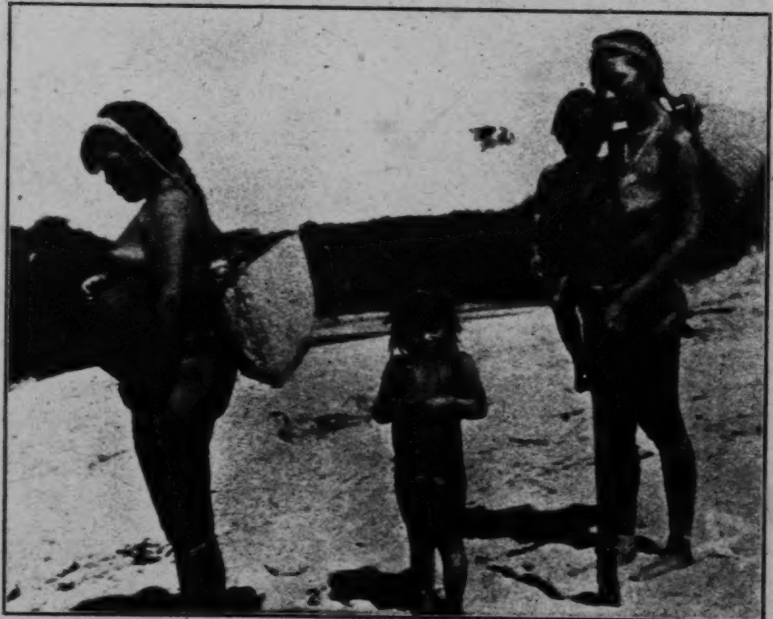
[End Plate 12]

285



1. Woman weaving a mat. Note the use of the foot.

222
302
482
854



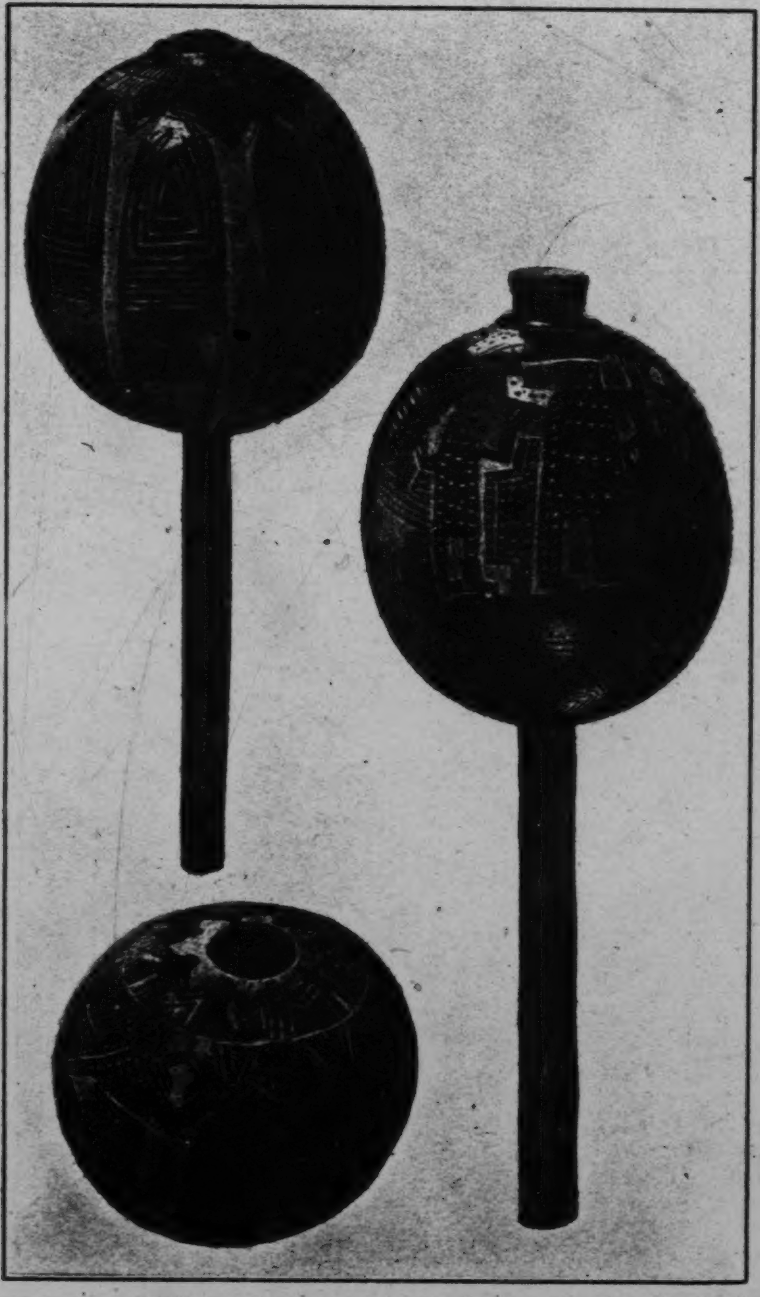
2. Women foraging for food. Note: braided hair, method of carrying basket, women's girdles, bands below the knee and on the ankles, method of carrying child, and digging stick.

(End Plate 13)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

5

532
791
534



Shaman's rattles. Only the male shamans use gourd rattles. They are always decorated with etched representations of mythological figures which the shaman "sees" during his trances and dreams.

(End Plate 19)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

292
283

142
291

1. The shaman Landaeta with daughter and wife. Note the embroidered breechclout on the man and paint on the face of the figure at the left. 2. Yaruro man making hammock string. Note the typical sitting posture of the Yaruro. 3. Two little girls wearing girdles. 4. Yaruro woman with aboriginal costume. 5. The figure on the left is a girl. The figure on the right is a boy. Note the difference between the girdle worn by the girl and the breechclout worn by the boy.

(End Plate 15)

1: Petrullo SS19 Yaruro SS19

592

/The author refers to a unit which he calls "family hunting group". This unit has been classified under category 621, since it is never specifically identified with or distinguished from the community. It may (e.g. for camps during the rainy season) occasionally be equivalent to the household.)

1: Petrullo SS19 Yaruro SS19

756

/The author refers throughout the monograph to male and female shamans. The male shamans qualify both for category 756 and 791, but since their principal activities fall under 787, they are considered here in category 791. When activities of either shaman are specifically psychotherapeutic, these activities will be classified under category 755./